

Ottoman Historical Documents

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The Institutions of an Empire

V. L. Ménage, edited with additions by Colin Imber

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Note on Transliteration

I have followed Ménage's example in using the modern Turkish alphabet in transliterating Ottoman words, adding diacritical marks to indicate the original form of the word in the Ottoman-Arabic script. Turkish uses the standard Latin alphabet, but the following letters should be noted:

- c English *j*, as in *jam*
- ç English *ch*, as in *church*
- ı roughly as *a* in English *woman*
- ö as in French *eu*
- ü as in French *lune*

I have not used the modern Turkish *ğ*. Following Ménage, I have instead indicated the letter used in the Ottoman-Arabic script, thus:

- g ك
- ğ غ

Latin letters with diacritics represent the following letters in the Ottoman-Arabic script:

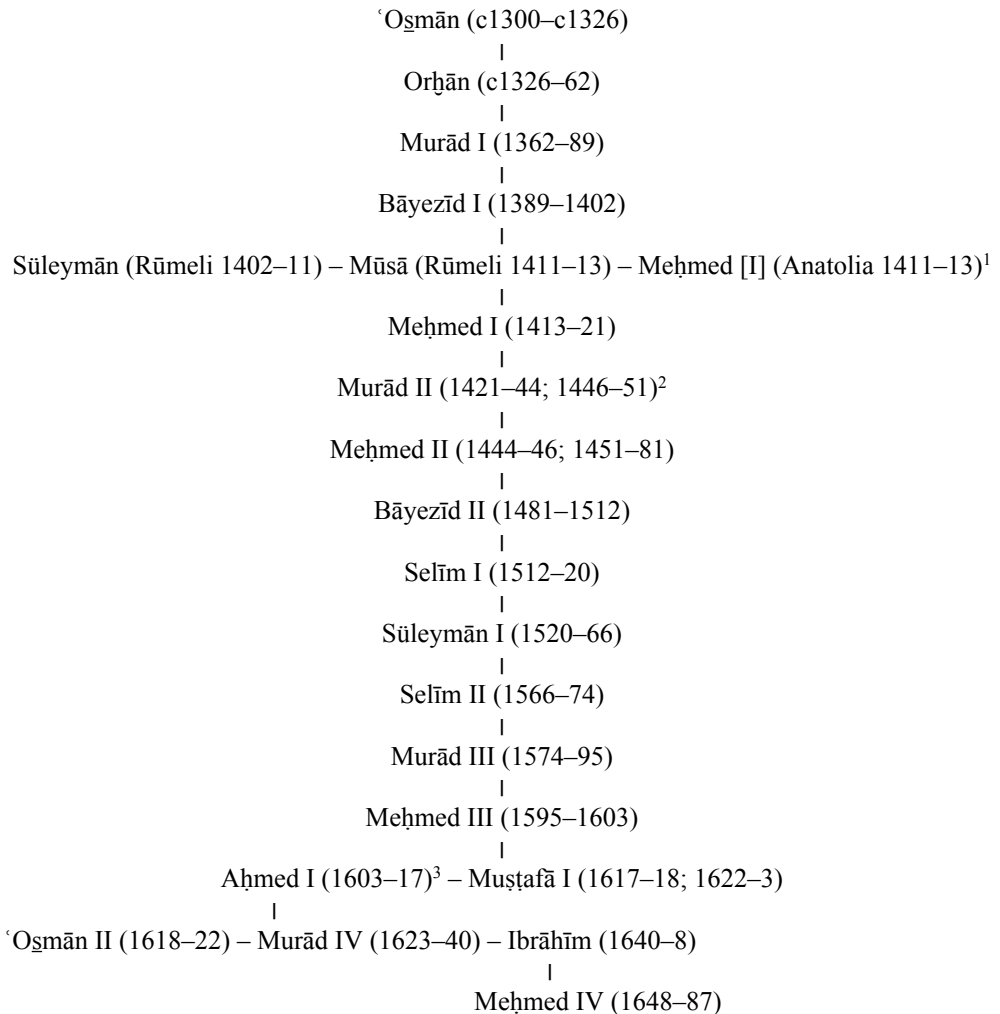
- ḍ ض
- ḡ غ
- ḥ ح
- ḫ خ
- ḳ ق
- ṅ گ
- ṣ ص
- ṭ ط
- ẓ ذ
- ẓ ظ
- ẓ ض
- ع
- ء

I have spelled some of the more familiar Arabic terms using the standard Arabic transliteration, rather than the Ottoman – for instance, *jizya*, *waqf* rather than *cizye*, *vakıf*.

The Islamic Months

- (1) Muḥarram
- (2) Ṣafar
- (3) Rabī' al-awwal (Rabī' I)
- (4) Rabī' al-thānī (Rabī' II)
- (5) Jumādā al-ūlā (Jumādā I)
- (6) Jumādā al-ākhīr, Jumādā al-thānī (Jumādā II)
- (7) Rajab
- (8) Sha'bān
- (9) Ramaḍān
- (10) Shawwāl
- (11) Dhū'l-Qa'da
- (12) Dhū'l-ḥijja

The Ottoman Sultans, c1300–1687



1. After the defeat and captivity of Bāyezīd I at the battle of Ankara in 1402, his sons fought over the succession to the rulership of the remaining Ottoman territories until the final victory of Mehmed [I] in 1413. The information given here is simplified. See Dimitris Kastritsis, *The Sons of Bayezid: Empire Building and Representation in the Ottoman Civil War of 1402–13*, Leiden (2007).
2. In 1444 Murād II abdicated in favour of his son, Prince Mehmed. In 1446, he was recalled to the throne and reigned until his death in 1451, when his son ascended the throne as Mehmed II.
3. Before 1603, the practice of fratricide ensured that the sultanate passed directly from father to son. After 1603, it was, in general, the eldest surviving son who succeeded.

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Plate 16	A <i>deli</i> ('madcap'), a volunteer soldier

Preface

V. L. Ménage (1920–2015)¹ – Vic to his friends and colleagues – was lecturer in Turkish and then Professor at the School of Oriental and African Studies, London, from 1955 until his retirement in 1983. Over his years of teaching, he translated a series of Ottoman documents dating largely from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, which formed the basis of his famous course on ‘Ottoman Institutions’. Upon his retirement he gave the collection to his SOAS colleague Dr Colin Heywood, with the instruction: ‘Do whatever you like with it’. Vic himself never envisaged publication, but Colin immediately recognised its importance for anyone studying or teaching this period of Ottoman history and, with the intention that we should jointly edit and publish the collection, made copies for Dr (later Professor) Michael Ursinus and myself. As it turned out, other commitments soon got in our way and the project was never realised. The idea of editing the documents remained buried somewhere in my subconscious, but it was not until over three decades later that my colleague Dr Georg Christ learned of their existence and at once realised their importance, not only for Ottoman historians, but equally for historians of late medieval and early modern Europe, and especially for students in his own fields of Venetian and Mamluk history. It was Georg who finally prodded me into action. He did not, however, confine himself to stirring my conscience, but immediately set about organising the collection into a useable format and making an electronic copy which rendered the process of editing much simpler. And that was not all. He also arranged for Dr Johannes Lotze to re-type much of the original typescript (including Vic’s handwritten notes) in the period between completing his PhD and winning the Royal Asiatic Society’s inaugural Bayly Prize for the best thesis on an Asiatic subject. Without Georg’s and Johannes’ help and continuing encouragement, Vic’s document collection would still be slumbering on a shelf. I am also greatly indebted to Dr Kate Fleet for permission to use her translation of the 1387 Ottoman–Genoese treaty and to Dr Christine Woodhead for her fluent translation of a tricky passage from Selānikī’s *History*.

When Vic was teaching the course, Ottoman history was still an exotic subject with almost no place in conventional university history departments in Europe or North America. Even in departments offering courses on the Middle East, Turkish and Ottoman studies tended to be

¹ For an obituary and personal appreciation, see Colin Heywood, ‘V. L. Ménage (1920–2015): Turcologist and Historian of the Early Ottoman State: A Personal Memoir’, *International Journal of Turkish Studies*, 21/1–2 (2015).

marginal. Nor was it a subject in which academic publishers showed much interest. As a result, anyone teaching the subject frequently had to fall back on their own resources for the provision of teaching materials. Another problem that teachers faced, and continue to face, is linguistic in nature. The Ottoman Empire was multi-lingual and, although the language of the court, the government and the literate elite was Turkish, Ottoman Turkish is so far removed from the Turkish of today as to be almost incomprehensible to modern Turks. Furthermore, official documents – and especially legal material – are likely to be written in Arabic, or – especially if they are treasury documents – in Persian. Before the mid-fifteenth century Turkish sources are rare, and Greek, Slavonic, Latin or Italian materials are often more significant. With the emergence of the Ottoman Empire as a great power from the late fifteenth century, the languages of the neighbouring states in Europe and the Middle East also become increasingly important both for records of diplomatic exchanges, and for the accounts of European residents and travellers in Ottoman lands. In brief, the array of languages confronting any aspiring Ottoman historian is bewildering. A solution to the problems facing students as they attempt to hack their way through this linguistic jungle is to provide translations of representative Ottoman and Ottoman-related texts. There has recently been a welcome increase in the number of such translations available, but when Vic was teaching, there was little available. Hence, with characteristic thoroughness, he made his own.

Vic made the collection to accompany his course on ‘Ottoman Institutions’, with the translated documents in each of the ten chapters illustrating one particular institution or aspect of Ottoman government. The first four chapters concern the organs of central government – that is, the Ottoman dynasty itself and the vizierate. Chapter V deals with provincial government, and Chapters VI and VII with the legal system and the law. Chapter VIII presents documents concerning finance and taxation and Chapter IX the closely related subject of *waqfs*. The collection ends with a series of treaty texts and other documents on foreign relations. In their original format as materials to be handed out and studied in class or in a seminar, the translations did not require an introduction or explanatory notes. I have, however, assumed that readers will usually be working on their own and therefore provided each chapter with a very brief introduction which places the documents in context. I have also added explanatory notes where these seemed necessary, and a glossary of the innumerable technical terms encountered. Vic’s typescript also had handwritten annotations, evidently for his own use. Many of these were clearly prompts, pointing to larger issues raised in the text, which could become the subject of a group discussion. Some raised specific problems of interpretation, or queries for further consideration, while others were technical, noting emendations, variant readings and other matters. Most of these I have omitted, often reluctantly, in order to prevent the text becoming too long and unwieldy. Some I have incorporated into my own notes, and some I have incorporated verbatim. These are identified by the siglum ‘VLM’.

I have not made any changes to the original translations, and I have presented them in the order in which they appear in the typescript. I could not match the accuracy or elegance of Vic’s translations, and any changes in the order would have upset the coherence of each chapter. I have, however, added a few texts and also one or two passages which Vic omitted in the original translations or gave only in summary. In one case I have to confess that I had to substitute my own translation, as I had lost the original. However, more than eighty percent of the text is exactly as Vic left it. There is one omission some Ottomanists might find surprising. This is the so-called *kānūnnāme* (‘law-book’) of Meḥmed II on ‘state organisation’ which has been a major source of reference for many studies of the Ottoman court and government. Vic himself recognised the difficulties that this text presents, noting in a preamble to his partial

translation: ‘It is a compilation probably made in the late sixteenth century and fathered on Mehmed II . . . Thus, though it may contain a nucleus of regulations dating from Mehmed II’s reign, the only safe approach to it now is that *no* statement in it is to be accepted as valid for that reign without independent corroboration’. I agree with this assessment, although I suspect that it dates from the early seventeenth century. Given the many problems surrounding this text, it seemed wiser to omit it. As a substitute, I have included short extracts from the 1525 *ḳānūnnāme* of Egypt.

Vic originally made the collection for student use, and it is primarily with students and teachers of Ottoman history in mind that I have made an edited version. The collection should also be useful for anyone with a serious interest in Ottoman history. Since Vic’s retirement in 1983, the study of Ottoman history has expanded beyond recognition: new fields of research have opened up, new journals devoted to Turkish and Ottoman Studies have been founded and new scholars have come into the field. Nonetheless, the translations presented here remain as relevant as ever. Documents and other primary source materials do not go out of date, and the topics covered in the collection remain essential to an understanding of the Ottoman Empire’s history between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. I hope that readers will find it useful.



Map 2 The Balkan Peninsula

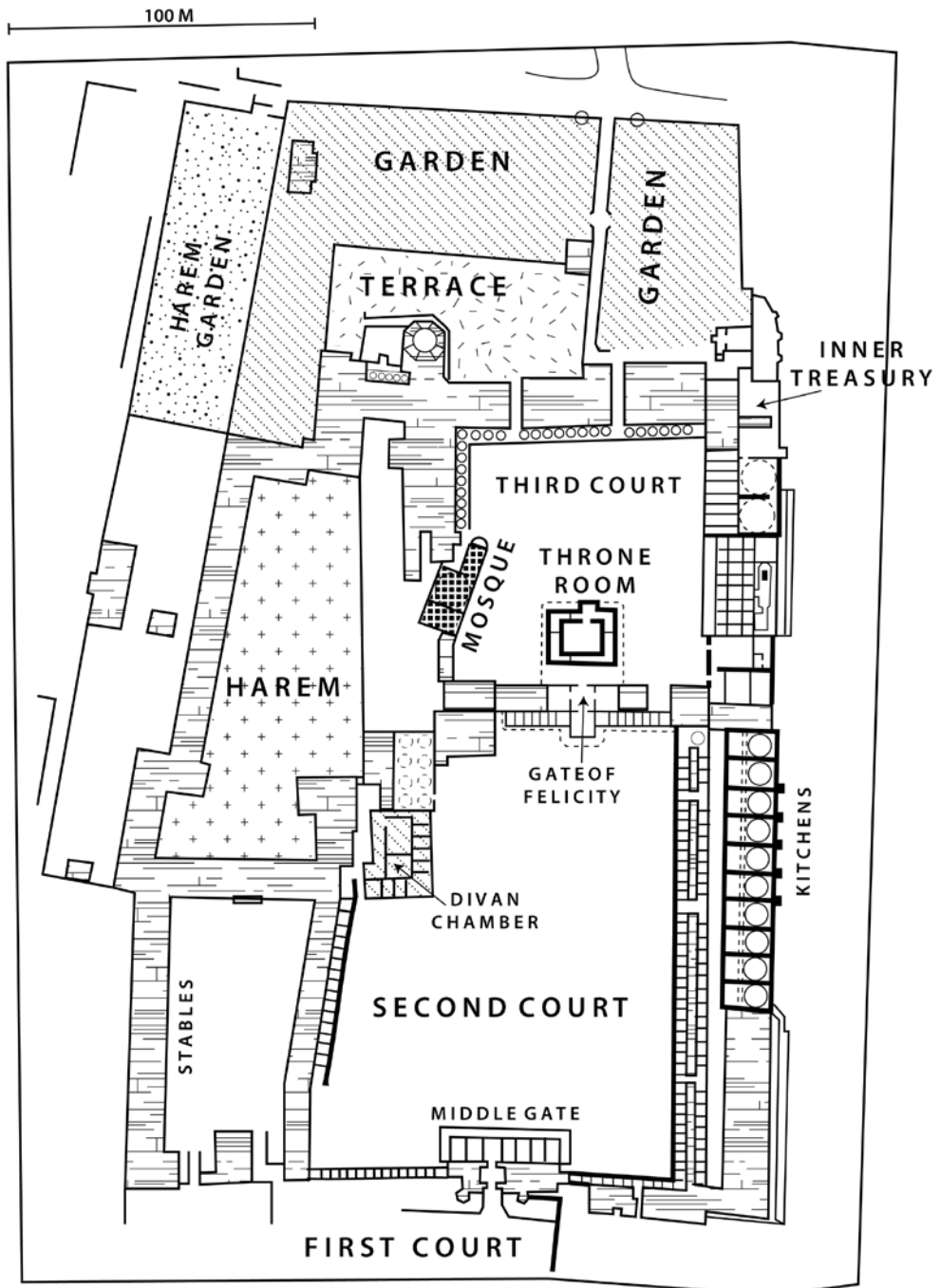


Figure 1 The palace: plan of the second and third courts



Figure 2 A firman with the *tughra* of Ahmed I

The Dynasty: Legitimation and Titulature

SECTION 1 THE ASSERTIONS OF THE CHRONICLERS

The Ottomans, like any other dynasty, needed to legitimise their rule in the eyes of their subjects. The basis of their claims to rightful rulership and superiority over rival dynasties is embedded in the largely mythical accounts of the Empire's origins found in the earliest Ottoman chronicles. These reflect popular oral traditions which circulated in the fifteenth century, and while they share much material in common, the variations between them often reflect the milieu in which they arose.

The anonymous passages **1a** and **1b** reflect the culture of the popular dervish groups that proliferated in the early Ottoman period. They tell how a holy *şeyh* interpreted the dream of 'Osmān's father, Ertoğrul, as foretelling the greatness of the Ottoman dynasty. By the device of making 'Osmān (or, in some versions, Ertoğrul himself) marry the *şeyh*'s daughter, the tale links the Ottoman dynasty to the dervishes and provides it with a spiritual lineage

Passage **2** from the chronicle of 'Aşıkpaşazāde reflects the culture of active soldiers. In it, 'Osmān scornfully rejects the legalistic view that his sovereignty, expressed through the performance of the Friday Prayer in *Karaca Hişār*, should be by the licence of the Seljuk sultan: he is a sovereign ruler by right of conquest. To this, Aşıkpaşazade appends additional reasons for giving 'Osmān the right to rule independently.

Passages **3a** and **3b** from the chronicle of Neşrī, by contrast, reflect the legalistic views of the *ulemā*, in making the last Seljuk Sultan 'Alā'ed-dīn appoint 'Osmān as his legal successor and 'Osmān assume sovereignty only on 'Alā'ed-dīn's death without progeny.

In passage **4a**, dating from the reign of Murād II (1421–51), Yazıcıoğlu is drawing on pagan Turkish tradition to assert the genealogical claims of the Ottoman dynasty. The sultan, he asserts, is a descendant of *Qayı*, the eldest son of the eldest son of *Oğuz Hān*, the eponymous ancestor the *Oğuz*, or western Turks. This line of descent gave the Ottoman sultan primacy among all western Turkish and Tatar rulers.

The tale in passage **4b** makes use of this genealogical claim to assert the Ottoman Sultan Murād II's superiority over the *Qarağoyunlu Cihānşāh*, his neighbour on his eastern frontier.

The anonymous author of passage **5** conflates all these elements in his account of Osman's achievement of sovereignty.

1 The voice of the dervishes: the dream of Ertoğrul¹

1a From the Anonymous Chronicles

It is related that one night when Ertoğrul was still alive he dreamed a strange dream. In the morning he pondered the dream and went [from Ankara] to Konya, where there was an interpreter of dreams named ‘Abdu’l-‘azīz to whom he told his dream. Some have said that the interpreter was a holy *şeyh* named Edebalı² . . . Ertoğrul told him: ‘I saw a moon rise from your bosom and enter mine. Then a tree sprang from my navel; there were mountains in its shade, and from them streams flowed to water the land’. The *şeyh* said: ‘You will have a son named ‘Osmān who will fight many *gazās*. Your descendants will be *pādişāhs*; your son will marry my daughter, and their line will be *pādişāhs*’. Some time later ‘Osmān was born. When he grew up, he married that *şeyh*’s daughter, and she bore him a son, Orhān.

1b From the Tevārīkh-i Āl-i ‘Osmān

Though Ertoğrul had many concubines (*cāriye*), he had no children and was continually praying to God to send him a son. He married a pious lady, and one night he dreamed a dream. In the morning he rode [from ‘Sögütçek’] to Konya and told his dream to a vizier of Sultan ‘Alā’ed-dīn, named ‘Abdu’l-‘azīz, who was a great astrologer. He said: ‘In my dream a spring (*pīñār*) flowed from my hearth (*ocağ*) and covered the world like a sea’. ‘Abdu’l-‘azīz consulted his astrolabe and his books and said: ‘God will give you a son whose descendants will rule the world’. Ertoğrul praised God and returned home. A son was born to him and named ‘Osmān. ‘Osmān succeeded his father after his death; he was an even mightier warrior, with over a thousand followers. The Byzantines (*Rūm tā’ifesi*) marched under the son of the Emperor of Constantinople to attack ‘Alā’ed-dīn. ‘Osmān divided his warriors into three groups, made a night attack from three sides and defeated them. He took much booty and sent half of it to ‘Alā’ed-dīn. ‘Alā’ed-dīn was astonished at ‘Osmān’s prowess and sent ‘Abdu’l-‘azīz to him with gifts of armour from the treasury, fifty files of camels, fifty files of [mules] and the White Standard of the Prophet which he had received from the Sultan of Egypt. ‘Abdu’l-‘azīz had a beautiful daughter: she too was sent and also a standard and a drum.³ ‘Osmān went out to meet ‘Abdu’l-‘azīz and entertained him. Next morning ‘Osmān made the *gusl*⁴ and went out riding with his followers. When they were about to turn back, a cloud of dust was seen. From it emerged an armed infidel *beg* who called: ‘Which of you is ‘Osmān?’ [The *beg* is named Miḥāl. The Prophet, appearing to him in a dream, had given him the name ‘Abdu’llāh and told him to seek out and join his servant ‘Osmān, who had the Prophet’s White Standard; Miḥāl’s descendants would make conquests as far as Hungary. Miḥāl came up and made the profession of faith before ‘Osmān. Several days later ‘Abdu’l-‘azīz returned to ‘Alā’ed-dīn and told him

¹ For a full discussion of passages 1(a) and 1(b), see V. L. Ménage, ‘On the recensions of Urjuj’s “History of the Ottomans”’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 30/2 (1967), 314–22.

² The redactor of this account evidently knew of two versions of the story: in this one, the dream is interpreted by a certain ‘Abdu’l-‘azīz, who lived in Konya; however, the redactor prefers and mainly follows another version in which the interpreter is a *şeyh* named Edebalı (who, it is implied, also lived in Konya).

³ The standard and drum were symbols of sovereignty. The purpose of the story is to show that the Seljuk Sultan ‘Alā’ed-Dīn appointed ‘Osmān as his heir and successor.

⁴ This implies that the marriage has taken place. *Gusl* is the total ritual ablution that would be required after the consummation of the marriage.

what had happened. ‘Alā’ed-dīn sent to ‘Osmān the sword of the Caliph ‘Osmān, which the Sultan of Egypt had sent him. After ‘Osmān had married ‘Abdu’l-‘azīz’s daughter Rābi‘a, she bore him a son, Orḡān.]

2 The voice of the *gāzīs*: how ‘Osmān became an independent ruler

When [‘Osmān] took *Ḳaraca-ḥiṣār*, the houses of the town were left empty. Many men came from the land of the *Germiyan-oḡlı*⁵ and other lands and asked for houses, and ‘Osmān gave them to them. Within a short time, the city began to flourish. He also gave many churches, which they made into mosques. They also set up a market. These people agreed among themselves and said: ‘Let us establish the Friday Prayer, and let us ask for a *kāḍī*’.⁶ There was a holy man (*‘azīz*) named *Ṭursun faḳīḥ*,⁷ who acted as *imām*. The people put the matter to him, and he came and told ‘Osmān *Gāzī*’s father-in-law *Edebalı*.⁸ While they were still speaking, ‘Osmān came and asked [what was afoot] and learned what [the people] wished. He said: ‘Do whatever you think right’. *Ṭursun faḳīḥ* said: ‘My *Ḥān*! For this we need licence and permission from the sultan’. ‘Osmān said: ‘*I took this city with my sword. What concern (dahḷ) has the sultan in this, that I should seek permission from him? God, who made him sultan, has, through the gāzā, given me the rank of ḥān. And if the sultan would make a claim on me by virtue of that sancaḳ,*⁹ I carried that standard into battle against the infidel. And if he says: “I am of the line of Seljuk”, I say that I am the descendant of *Gök Alp*.¹⁰ And if he says, “I came to this land before they did”, I say that my grandfather *Süleymānṣah* came before he did’. Hearing this, the people were satisfied, and he made *Ṭursun faḳīḥ kāḍī* and *ḥaḳīb*:¹¹ the *ḥuṭbe* was first recited in *Ḳaraca-ḥiṣār* . . .

Once a *kāḍī* and a *subaşı* had been appointed and a market had been set up and the *ḥuṭbe* had been recited, then the people asked for a *kānūn*.¹² A man came from *Germiyan* and said: ‘Sell the tolls (*bāc*) of this market to me’. The people said, ‘Go to the *Ḥān*’. He did so and made his request. ‘Osmān *Gāzī* said: ‘What is a “toll”?’ The man said: ‘I take money on whatever comes to the market’. ‘Osmān said: ‘Fellow, have you any claim on the people coming to this market that you should ask money from them?’ The man said, ‘My *Ḥān*! In all countries it is the traditional law and custom (*töre ve ‘ādet*) that *pādiṣāhs* take it’. ‘Osmān said: ‘Did God command it, or did the rulers introduce it themselves?’ The man said: ‘It is the custom; it has existed from the beginning’. ‘Osmān became truly angry and said: ‘Fellow! What a man has gained is his own property. What money did I put with his that I should ask him to pay me? Get out! Do not mention this to me again, or you will suffer for it’. The people said: ‘My *Ḥān*! It is the custom that people should give something to those that look after (*bekle-*) the market’. ‘Osmān said: ‘Since you say so, let everyone who brings a load and sells it pay 2 *aḳçes*, but he who

⁵ The ruler of *Germiyan*, the emirate adjoining Ottoman territory.

⁶ As part of his address during the congregational prayer on Friday (*ḳhuṭba/ḥuṭbe*), the preacher (*ḳhaḳīb*) recites a prayer for the ruler. It is this act, together with the issue of coinage in his name, that establishes the ruler’s legitimacy and independence. An established Muslim community also requires a *kāḍī* to settle disputes in accordance with Islamic law.

⁷ *Faḳīḥ* (Arabic: ‘jurist’): the title indicates a learned man.

⁸ The author is following the tradition that makes *Edebalı* (and not ‘Abdu’l-‘Aziz) ‘Osmān’s father-in-law (see 1a and 1b above).

⁹ That is, the standard which ‘Alā’ed-dīn had sent him.

¹⁰ In one of the genealogies of the *Oḡuz*, *Gök Ḥān* (here *Gök Alp*) is the senior son of *Oḡuz Ḥān*.

¹¹ *Ḥaḳīb* (Arabic): a preacher.

¹² *Kānūn*: law, statute. See Chapter VII.

does not sell shall pay nothing. Whoever undoes this *kānūn* of mine, may God undo his faith and his worldly welfare. Furthermore, to whomever I give a *tīmār*, it is not to be taken from him without good reason. When he dies, it is given to his son, even if the son is a child: let his servants (*hidmetkār*) campaign when there is a campaign until the son is able to go. Whoever infringes this *kānūn* of mine, may God be displeased with him. If any of my descendants is caused to lay down any *kānūn* but this, may God be displeased with him who lays it down and *with him who causes him to lay it down*.¹³

3 The voice of the *‘ulemā*: how *‘Osmān* became an independent ruler

3a *The Kitab-ı Cihan-nüma about why ‘Osmān and his descendants were called ġāzī*

Abaqa Khān¹⁴ made Mas‘ūd¹⁵ sultan of Armenia and Sivas . . . but he had no profit or benefit from these territories in any way at all: he possessed nothing but the mere name of sultan . . . After him, the House of Seljuk completely lost dominion, and there was no *ḥuṭbe* and no coinage in their name left on the face of the earth. The people of Rūm¹⁶ became divided, and every group had a king (*malik*) and a coinage and every city a ruler (*emīr*) and a *ḥuṭbe* . . . *‘Osmān Ġāzī* captured Bilecik and Söğüd in 699 (1299/1300). In 700 (1300/1), the caliph in Egypt of the *‘Abbāsīd* line was al-Ḥākīm bi-amri‘llāh . . . In the time of these rulers *‘Osmān Ġāzī* was girded with the sword by Sultan *‘Alā’ed-dīn Kaykubād b. Farāmurz*¹⁷ and devoted himself to the *ġazā*, as his father Ertoğrul had done, and made the good intention (*nīyet-i ḥayr*):¹⁸ *‘I shall gain my bread solely from the ġazā . . .’*¹⁹ And all the mighty sultans and noble kings of his time saw that he possessed sincerity of intention: so they did not object when he took Bilecik from the infidel, but said: *‘Whatever he conquers from the infidel, let that be lawful (ḥalāl) to him’*. And that is why *‘Osmān* and his descendants were called *ġāzī*, for their principle of action was not to bear sway by usurpation over the lands of the Believers, like other kings and sultans, but it was solely the *ġazā* and the *cihād*.

3b *The Kitab-ı Cihan-nüma about how the drum and the standard came to ‘Osmān*

His mother and his people came out one or two marches in order to welcome *‘Osmān*. It happened that at that juncture, at the time of afternoon prayer, the drum and the standard and the *berāt*²⁰ and the sword and the royal robe of honour came from Sultan *‘Alā’ed-dīn* . . .

¹³ At the time when *‘Aşıkpaşazāde* was writing in the second half of the fifteenth century, military fiefs (*tīmārs*) were non-hereditary. Here the author is protesting what he sees as the illegal practices of his own day and is implicitly criticising Mehmed II (1451–81). The tirade against *‘him who causes him to lay it down’* may refer to Mehmed II’s vizier Karamānī Mehmed Paşa whom *‘Aşıkpaşazāde* blames for making *tīmārs* non-hereditary.

¹⁴ The Ilkhānid ruler (r. 1265–81/2)

¹⁵ The Seljuk sultan, a vassal of the Ilkhānids.

¹⁶ *Rūm*: Anatolia.

¹⁷ Neşrī is identifying the legendary Seljuk Sultan *‘Alā’ed-dīn* with the historical Seljuk Sultan *‘Alā’ed-dīn* [III] (1301–3) who was, in fact, a contemporary of *‘Osmān*.

¹⁸ In Islamic law, an act of worship (*‘ibāda*), such as prayer, fasting, almsgiving or the waging of holy war must be performed with sincerity of intention (*nīya*) in order to be valid.

¹⁹ Holy War, if performed with sincere intent, is a legitimate means of earning a livelihood.

²⁰ Or: *‘a horse’*. The Arabic letters *brāt* may be read as *berāt* (*‘diploma of appointment’*) or *bir at* (Turkish: *‘a horse’*).

When the drum and the standard²¹ came to ‘Osmān, he set aside one fifth of the booty and proposed to go to Konya with limitless gifts, to meet Sultan ‘Alā’ed-dīn, to receive his blessing (*himmet*) and become his heir (*velī’ahd*), for this sultan had no son and had sent the drum and the standard and the sword because he regarded ‘Osmān as his son. And although ‘Osmān had some sort of independence (*istiklāl*), yet he observed the due courtesies and maintained the *huṭbe* and the coinage in the name of ‘Alā’ed-dīn. But when ‘Osmān had made ready to go to the sultan, word came that he had died. Since he had no son, his vizier Şāhib took his place. When ‘Osmān heard that, he said: ‘It is God who gives the judgment’ and at once made Ṭursun *fakīh* both *kādī* and *ḥaṭīb* for Karama-ḥişār, for this Ṭursun *fakīh* was a holy man who acted as *imām*.

4 Pagan Turkish tradition: the genealogy of the Ottoman sultans

4a Yazıcıoğlu ‘Alī on the line of ‘Osmān

Our *pādişāh* Sultan Murād²² b. Sultan Mehmed Hān, the mighty *pādişāh*, lord of the sultans of the Arabs and the Persians, leader of the armies of those who declare God’s unity, slayer of the infidels and the polytheists, sultan and son of a sultan, the most noble of the Ottoman line, is most fitted to be *pādişāh*. He is superior in descent and in ‘bone’ to all the progeny of the other *hāns* of the Oğuz, indeed to the progeny of the Jenghizid *Hāns*.²³ Thus, it is fitting, both by *şer’* and by *örf*,²⁴ that the *hāns* of the Turks and the Tatars should come to his Porte to offer salutation and service. May the Almighty God make him to endure, and may his descendants be world rulers so long as the world lasts!

Near to the time of the Prophet, Korkut Ata arose from the clan of the Bayat. He was the sage of the Oğuz people. Whatever he foretold took place: he brought news from the unseen world, for the Almighty God would inspire him. He said: ‘In the final times the *hānship* will again return to the Kayı, from whose hands no-one will take it away’. And what he spoke of was the line of ‘Osmān.

In short, the *begs* and *kedhūdās*²⁵ of those lands [on the frontiers of Rūm] gathered and came to ‘Osmān Beg. They consulted together and said that ‘Kayı Hān was, after Oğuz himself, the *ağa* and the *hān* of all the Oğuz clans . . . According to the *töre* of the Oğuz, the *hānship* and the rank of *pādişāh* belong to the progeny of the *hāns* of no other clan so long as the progeny of Kayı exists. Henceforward we can expect no help from the Seljuk sultans, for most of their land has been lost to them and the Tatars have overcome them completely. Since the late Sultan ‘Alā’ed-dīn regarded you with favour, do you be *han*, and we will serve you in the *gazā* here’. ‘Osmān accepted; then they all stood up and bowed low three times in the fashion of the Oğuz. (In those days something of the Oğuz *töre* still remained; it was not completely forgotten, as it is now.) They sent for *k.mrān* (?) from the [. . . ?] and offered the goblet to ‘Osmān. When he drank, the *çavuşes*²⁶ called benedictions, saying (shouting?): ‘Health and

²¹ See note 3 above.

²² Murād II (1421–51).

²³ Descent from Jenghiz Khan was regarded as bestowing a legitimate claim to rulership.

²⁴ *Şer’* and *örf*: sacred law and customary law.

²⁵ *Kedhūdā* (Persian: ‘deputy’): presumably a deputy of the lord (*beg*).

²⁶ *Çavuş*: a herald, an usher in the sultan’s court.

wellbeing! May your rule be blessed (*pādişāhlik mübārek olsun!*)²⁷ Then they all moved off and advanced against the fortress of Bilecik, in the year 699 (1299/1300).

4b Şükrullāh on the line of ‘Osmān

In the year 852 (1448/9) the late Sultan Murād sent me on an embassy to Mīrzā Cihānşāh.²⁸ After I had performed my duty, one day the *şagāvul*²⁹ came and said: ‘The *mīrzā* wishes to speak with you privately’. I went to him, and in the course of the conversation he said: ‘Sultan Murād is my spiritual brother, and also he is related to me’. I asked what the relationship was. The *mīrzā* ordered them to summon Mawlānā Isma‘īl, the history-reciter, and to bring the Oğuz histories. Mawlānā Isma‘īl came and brought a book written in Mongol writing and reported from that book that Oğuz had six sons, Gök Alp,³⁰ Yer Alp, Deñiz Alp, Gün Alp, Ay Alp and Yıldız Alp [=sky, earth, sea, sun, moon and star]. The *mīrzā* said: ‘My brother sultan is descended from Gök Alp the son of Oğuz, with 45 generations between Gök Alp and Ertoğrul: and Qara Yūsuf³¹ is descended in 41 generations from Deñiz Alp . . . The descent of my brother Sultan Murād is senior to mine, by as far as the sky is higher than the sea’.

5 Conflation in the Oxford Anonymous Chronicle

The laudable qualities of the House of ‘Osmān, which have not been found united in other sultans.

The sultans are descended from Qayı Hān, the descendant of Oğuz Hān. Oğuz Hān’s testament was that Qayı should be *hān* after himself, and thereafter Qayı’s descendants . . . For some time, the *hān*ship remained in the line of Qayı; but later the Seljuks and other Turkish *begs* became *hāns* by force, down to the time of ‘Osmān. When calamity overtook the Seljuks, the great *begs* of the Turks, in accordance with the testament, made ‘Osmān Beg *hān* over themselves . . . From this it is clear how superior the Ottoman sultanate is to other sultanates.

Moreover, the sultanate of most sultans came about through treachery to their predecessors and through aggression against Muslims, as the Khwārazmshāhs did to the Seljuks, the Seljuks to the Ghaznavids, the Ghaznavids to the Sāmānids, Timür to Emīr Hūsayn³² and Qara Yūsuf to Sultan Aḥmed.³³ But ‘Osmān and his predecessors, although they had no *tīmār* or pay (*‘ulīfe*) from the Seljuks but occupied themselves with the *ğazā* against the infidels on the borders (*uc memleketinde*) and supported themselves with booty (*māl-i ğanīmet*) yet, as long as the Seljuks bore the name of sultan, ‘Osmān Beg laid no claim to the sultanate. But when the Seljuks were destroyed through the invasion of the Mongols and the Muslims were left with no *hān*, he accepted the *hān*ship for the sake of the Muslims at the request of the *begs*, who knew that he was marked for the *hān*ship.

He engaged in the *ğazā* and conquered cities and fortresses; and his descendants have

²⁷ The author is here referencing a ceremony in the Ottoman court, where the *çavuşes* in unison called down blessings on the new sultan.

²⁸ The Qarağoyunlu ruler Cihānşāh (1436–67).

²⁹ *Şagāvul*: an escort, accompanying official visitors.

³⁰ *Alp* (Turkish): ‘hero, warrior’, here used as title. Cf. n. 10 above.

³¹ Cihānşāh’s grandfather (d. 1420).

³² Of Balkh, killed 1370.

³³ Aḥmed Jalāyir, killed 1410.

followed in the same path. Most of their territories are lands conquered by them from the infidels; most of their revenue arises from the *jizya*.³⁴ And their *kuls*,³⁵ apart from their other troops, number some forty- or fifty-thousand, whereas no other *pādiṣāh* has possessed ten thousand such *kuls*.

But around them were various Muslim rulers (*mülūk*) who were evil and would harm the Well-protected Territories of the Muslims.³⁶ Whenever there was the slightest disturbance (*fitne*) they would rise and plunder and kill the Muslims³⁷ and would always urge on the infidels. When the infidels marched against the Muslims, when it was obligatory (*vācib*) upon them [the *mülūk*] to assist the Muslims, they would seize the chance to attack from the other side. Consequently the eradication of these people was obligatory (*vācib*), by the *sharī'a* (*ṣer*) and custom (*ōrf*), by reason (*akl*) and transmitted authority (*naql*); so they expelled them and became sole rulers in Rūm.

Since their distinguishing qualities were to uphold the Faith and to protect the poor, each succeeding ruler has sought to outdo his predecessor in good works; and their subjects have imitated them. The lands of Rūm, which in the past were mostly *dār al-kufr*,³⁸ have become *kubbat al-islām*:³⁹ the temples and churches have become dervish-convents and mosques and *medreses*: no other land of Islam contains so many pious foundations; and the *seyyids* and *ṣeyḥs* and *'ulemā* and *fukarā*⁴⁰ and *imāms* and *ḥaṭībs* and *waqf*-officials (*ehl-i vakf*) who receive the alms (*ṣadaqa*) of the Ottoman rulers number some forty-thousand. May God have mercy on the departed members of this House and support in felicity those who are living, and may He grant all the desires of our Ḥan, Sultan Bāyezīd b. Sultan Meḥmed, the Sultan of the Two Lands and the *Ḥākān* of the Two Seas, sultan of the sultans of the world.

SECTION 2 TITULATURE: CALIPHAL CLAIMS

After their conquest of Anatolia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the Seljuk sultans who ruled much of formerly Byzantine Anatolia in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries began to adopt titles of sovereignty (1) typical of the rulers of the old Islamic world.

These titles in turn passed, with many variations, to the independent emirs ruling in Anatolia in the fourteenth century (2) following the collapse of the Seljuk sultanate. Among these emirs were the Ottoman sultans (3–7).

These began to use titles proper to the caliph (Table 1.1) – in addition to that of sultan, as in passages 9 and 10 – as early as 1421 (8), but before the mid-sixteenth century their effect was rhetorical and did not, it seems, signal a serious claim to the caliphate. Promulgation of the idea of the Ottoman sultan as caliph, and therefore as successor to the Prophet and the four Orthodox Caliphs, began in earnest in the 1540s, with Ebū's-su'ūd's formulation of the claim (11).

³⁴ *Jizya*: in Islamic law, a poll-tax payable by adult non-Muslim males in exchange for legal protection of life, limb and property.

³⁵ *Kul* has the literal sense of 'slave'. Here it might be understood as a 'servant of the sultan'.

³⁶ That is, the territories of the Ottomans.

³⁷ Here 'the Muslims' specifically refers to the Ottomans. The implication is that the other rulers in Anatolia are not true Muslims.

³⁸ *Dār al-kufr* (Arabic: 'the abode of infidelity'): the non-Islamic lands.

³⁹ *Kubbat al-Islām* (Arabic: 'the cupola of Islam'): the city of Basra, a seat of Islamic learning.

⁴⁰ *Fukarā* (Arabic: 'poor people'; sing: *faḳīr*): dervishes.

In Sunnī theory, the caliphate/*imāmate* is elective and not hereditary, and the caliph/*imām* should be chosen from the Prophet's own tribe, the Quraish. The Ottoman sultanate, however, was hereditary and not elective, and the Ottoman genealogy did not trace the line back to the Quraish and thus, in principle, the sultan could not be caliph. Ebū's-su'ūd bypassed this problem by asserting that the sultan was 'heir' to the 'great caliphate', implying that the Ottomans were the true successors to the four Orthodox Caliphs and that henceforth the caliphate was hereditary within the Ottoman dynasty.

The political use of the caliphal claim can be seen in (12) where the sultan's mental incapacity is invoked as legal grounds for his deposition, and in a fatwa (13) where it is used to counter the Afghan Nāder Shāh's claim to territories in Iran and the Caucasus held by the Ottomans.

The preamble to Süleymān I's letter to the Habsburg Archduke Ferdinand [I] (14) listing the lands and seas under his rulership is typical of the Ottoman sultans' correspondence with foreign monarchs in the sixteenth century and later. Ferdinand is simply addressed as 'King of Germany' (*Nemçe*). By stating that the Ottoman sultans conquered their lands 'by the sword', the sultan is belittling the Habsburgs who acquired their lands through inheritance and dynastic marriages.

Table 1.1

Titles adopted by the Ottoman sultans

<u>Arabic</u>	<u>Turkish</u>	<u>Persian</u>	<u>Ottoman</u>
<i>amīr</i>		<i>mīr</i>	<i>mīr</i> <i>emīr</i>
	<i>beg</i>		<i>beg</i> <i>melik</i>
<i>malik</i>		<i>khudāwandgār</i>	<i>hudāvendgār</i> (> <i>hünkār</i>)
<i>sulṭān</i>			<i>sulṭān</i>
<i>khān</i>	<i>hān</i>		<i>hān</i>
<i>khākān</i>	<i>hāgan</i>		<i>hākān</i>
		<i>shāh</i>	<i>shāh</i>
		<i>shāhānshāh</i>	<i>shinshāh</i>
		<i>pādīshāh</i>	<i>pādīshāh</i>

Caliphal titles

khalīfa
amīr al-mu'minīn
imām

Greek

αὐθέντης, whence Turkish *efendi*, Italian (*Grand*) *Signor*

1 Inscription of Kayḥosrev II (1236–46) on a tower of the sea walls at Antalya

Has ordered the construction of this blessed tower the supreme sultan (*al-sultān al-a‘zam*), the exalted *shāhinshāh* (*shāhinshāh al-mu‘azzam*),⁴¹ the master of the necks of the peoples, sultan of the sultans of the world, lord of the kings of the Arabs and the Persians, margrave of the horizons (*marzbān al-āfāk*), Ġiyāth al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn, glory (‘*alā*’) of Islam and of the Muslims, the shadow of God in the lands, Abū’l-Faṭḥ, Kayḥosrev b. Kayḳobād b. Kayḥosrev, partner (*qasīm*) of the Commander of the Faithful, in the year 641 (1244/5).

2 Inscription on the tomb of the Aydın-oğlu Muḥammad (d. 1334) at Birgi

This tomb has been built for the great *emīr* (*al-amīr al-kabīr*), the learned (*al-‘ālim*), the fighter in the holy war (*al-mujāhid*), the margrave (*al-murābiṭ*), the founder of pious works (*abū’l-khayrāt*), the sultan of the *ġāzīs* (*sultān al-ġuzāt*), Mubārīz al-Dawla wa’l-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aydın . . .

3 Inscription of 1337 from the Şehadet Mosque in Bursa

. . . the great *emīr*, the exalted (*al-mu‘azzam*), the fighter in the holy war, sultan, son of the sultan of the *ġāzīs*, *ġāzī* son of the *ġāzī*, Shujā‘ al-Dawla wa’l-Dīn, margrave of the horizons (*marzbān al-āfāq*), hero of the world (*bahlavān*[?]-*i jihān*), Orḥān b. ‘Othmān . . .⁴²

4 Inscription from a bridge in Ankara, dated 1375

In the days of the rule of the just king (*al-malik al-‘ādil*), the *ġāzī*, the supreme (*al-a‘zam*) sultan Ġiyāth al-Dunyā wa’l-Dīn, Abū’l-Faṭḥ, Murād Ḥān b. Orḥān . . .

5 Other inscriptions referring to Murād I

. . . al-malik al-kabīr . . . Murād Beg . . . (1378, Iznik)

. . . al-malik al-mu‘azzam wa’l-khākān al-a‘zam . . . sultān ibn sultān, Murād . . . (1385, Gallipoli)

. . . al-malik al-mu‘azzam al-khākān al-mukarram, sultān ibn sultān, Murād . . . (1388, Iznik)

6 Dedicatory notice in a Qur’ān preserved in the mausoleum of Murād I

Waqf of our lord, the supreme Sultan al-Malik al-Zāhir Abū Sa‘īd Barqūq⁴³ (may God make eternal his rule), ruler (*ḥākim*) of the lands of Egypt and Syria and the Ḥijaz, to the tomb of

⁴¹ The grammar in this phrase is faulty.

⁴² The date, reading and authenticity of this inscription have been much discussed. See R. C. Jennings, ‘Some thoughts on the Gazi-Thesis’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 86 (1986), 151–61; Heath W. Lowry, *The Nature of the Early Ottoman State*, Albany: SUNY Press (2003), 33–44; Colin Heywood, ‘The 1337 Bursa inscription and its interpreters’, *Turcica*, 36 (2004), 215–31; reprinted in Colin Heywood, *Ottomanica and Meta-Ottomanica*, Istanbul: Isis Press (2013), no. 6. For further references, see Heywood, *Ottomanica*.

⁴³ Mamlūk sultan, reigned 1382–99.

the deceased (*al-marḥūm*), the martyr (*al-shahīd*), Murād Beg b. Orḥān b. ‘Othmān (may God sanctify his spirit and illuminate his tomb).

7 Inscription on the tomb of Bāyezīd I, dated 809/1406–7

This is the tomb of the felicitous and deceased sultan, Bāyezīd Ḥān b. Murād Ḥān: it was constructed by the supreme sultan, the lord of the kings of the Arabs and the Persians, Süleymān Ḥān⁴⁴ b. Bāyezīd Ḥān . . .

8 Title-page of an almanac (in Persian), dated 824 (1421)

For the perusal of the most glorious sultan and mighty *shāhīnshāh*, possessor of the necks of the peoples and lord of the kings of the Arabs and the Persians . . . glory of the *ḡāzīs* and of the fighters of the *jihād*, subduer of the infidels and the refractory, the shadow of God over the worlds, the caliph (*ḥalīfa*) of God in the lands . . . the sultan, son of the sultan, Sultan Meḥmed b. Bāyezīd b. Murād Ḥān . . .

9 A reference in Ṭursun Beg’s History of Meḥmed II

Sultan of the two lands, *ḥākān* of the two seas, *amīr al-mu’minīn*, conqueror of the infidels and the polytheists, the sultan son of the sultan, Meḥmed Ḥān b. Murād Ḥān . . .

10 A reference in Celālzāde’s History of Süleymān I

. . . sultan of the *ḡāzīs* and *mujāhids*, proof of the rulers and the cloistered, shadow of God on the two earths, sword of Islam and the Muslims, killer of infidels and polytheists, extirpator of rebels and the obstinate, conqueror of fortresses and taker of castles . . . the most mighty sultan and mighty *ḥākān*, lord of the kings of the Arabs and the Persians, proof of the men of the sword and of the pen, king of the two lands and the two seas . . . His Excellency Sultan Süleymān Ḥān son of Selīm Ḥān son of Bāyezīd Ḥān (may God make eternal the shadow of his sovereignty and make everlasting the glory of his majesty).

11 Ebu’s-Su’ūd’s proemium to his statement on ‘state lands’

[When] the *ḥākān* of the face of the earth, the *ḥalīfa* (caliph) of the Apostle of the Lord of the Worlds,⁴⁵ the one who prepares the path (*mumahhid*) for the ordinances of the manifest *sharī‘a*, upholder of the foundations of the firm Faith, manifestation of the Exalted Word, raising aloft the standards of religion to the extremities of distant lands, possessor (*mālik*) of the kingdoms of the world, the shadow of God over all the peoples, conqueror of the lands of the East and the West through God’s glorious assistance and His conquering army, leader of holy campaigns celebrated among the people and mighty battles (*waqā’i*) recorded on the pages of epics, the possessor of the Supreme Imāmate (*ḥā’iz al-imāma al-‘uzmā*), resplendent

⁴⁴ Süleymān was Bāyezīd I’s eldest son.

⁴⁵ The Prophet Muḥammad.

sultan, heir of the Great Caliphate⁴⁶ (*wārith al-ḥilafat al-kubrā*) from generation to generation, the promulgator (*nāshir*) of the sultanic *kānūns*, the tenth of the Ottoman *ḥākāns*, breaker of Caesars,⁴⁷ conqueror of princes, sultan of the Arabs, Persians and Romans (*sultān al-‘arab wa’l-‘ajam wa’l-rūm*), the protector of the holy ground of the Two Sacred Sanctuaries⁴⁸ . . . the sultan, son of the sultan, Sultan Süleymān Ḥān . . .

12 The second deposition of Muṣṭafā I, 1623

The *‘ulemā* sent word to the *pādiṣāh*’s mother, saying: ‘Tomorrow, as your son, our *pādiṣāh* Sultan Muṣṭafā is sitting on his throne, we have, according to the *sharī‘a*, questions to put to him: first, “What is your name?”, then: “Whose son are you?” and “What day is it today?” If he can reply to these, then he is *amīr al-mu‘minīn*⁴⁹ and our *pādiṣāh* and may whoever looks at him askance be struck blind! But if not, then his imāmate is not licit (*cā‘iz*) according to the *sharī‘a*. The imāmate of a child is not licit, nor is that of a lunatic’.

13 *Fatwās* on the Ghalzay Ashraf, 1726

Question: Is it permissible for the Muslims to offer the *bay‘a*⁵⁰ to two *imāms* at the same time?

Answer: It is agreed (*icmā‘*) that two *imāms* cannot exist at the same time, unless they are separated by a great obstruction like the Indian Ocean,⁵¹ so that the one cannot extend protection over the territories of the other.

Question: If after all the Muslims have paid the *bay‘a* to and have appointed as *imām* the Sultan of the Two Lands and the Two Seas, the Servitor of the Two Noble Sanctuaries, Sultan Aḥmed Ḥān,⁵² whose glorious ancestors were rulers and *imāms* (*mülūk ve e‘imme*); if then Zeyd, on the ground that he has conquered by his sword territory in the vicinity of Isfahan, claims the position of *imām* and sultan for himself . . . ?

Answer: Zeyd is a rebel (*bāḡī*).⁵³ If he abandons his presumptions and submits to the Shadow of God upon earth, well and good: if not, then his fate is expressed in the words: ‘. . . if one party wrongs the other, fight the one that does wrong until it returns to Allah’s command’⁵⁴ and in the *ḥadīth*:⁵⁵ ‘If the *bay‘a* has been paid to two Caliphs, then kill the second of them’.

⁴⁶ ‘Imāmate’ and ‘Caliphate’ are synonyms here. The reference is to the Four Rightly Guided Caliphs who succeeded the Prophet.

⁴⁷ Probably a reference to Süleymān’s victories over the Habsburgs. ‘Caesar’ (*Kaiser*) was a title of Charles V as Holy Roman Emperor.

⁴⁸ Mecca and Medina.

⁴⁹ ‘Commander of the faithful’, the title of the Caliph.

⁵⁰ *Bay‘a* (Arabic): in sunnī dogma, the oath of allegiance offered by the ‘men of loosing and binding’ to the newly elected caliph.

⁵¹ In sunnī dogma there can be more than one caliph only if ‘a great sea’ separates them.

⁵² Aḥmed III (1703–30).

⁵³ *Bāḡī*: a person who rebels against the legitimate Muslim sovereign, but without renouncing Islam.

⁵⁴ Qur‘ān 49:9.

⁵⁵ *Ḥadīth*: a reported saying or deed of the Prophet.

14 Süleymān I to Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, 1554

I who am the sultan of sultans, the proof (*burhān*) of the *hākāns*, granter of crowns to the kings of the earth, shadow of God over the earth, *pādišāh* of the White Sea,⁵⁶ the Black Sea, Rümeli, Anaṭoli, Rüm, Ḳaramān, Erzurüm, Diyārbekir, Kurdistan, Lüristān, Georgia, Zū'l-ḳadriyye, Damascus, Egypt, Aleppo, Mecca and Medina and Jerusalem, and the whole land of Arabia, Baghdad, Jāzān, Yemen, Şan'a, Aden, Basra and Algiers, of the lands of the Tatars and the Qipchak plain (*dasht*), and of the throne of Budin,⁵⁷ and the places belonging to it, and of many other lands conquered by my sword – I, Sultan Süleymān-şāh, son of Sultan Selīm-şāh Hān: you King Ferdinand, who are king of the land of Nemçe⁵⁸ and the places belonging to it, have sent a letter . . .

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⁵⁶ The Mediterranean.

⁵⁷ Budin (Slavonic: Budim): Buda, the capital of the old Kingdom of Hungary.

⁵⁸ Nemçe (Slavonic: Nemets): Germany.

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The Dynasty: Princes

SECTION 1 THE APPOINTMENT OF PRINCES IN THE EARLY FOURTEENTH CENTURY ACCORDING TO THE ANONYMOUS CHRONICLES

In the early decades of the Ottoman Empire's existence, princes played an important role in the expansion and government of the nascent polity. Passages **1**, **2** and **3** from the fifteenth-century Anonymous Chronicles suggest that the first Ottoman rulers, ʿOsmān and Orḥān, distributed newly conquered territories in north-western Anatolia among their sons and followers. Orḥān's son, Murād, who succeeded his father as ruler, is remembered by the epithet 'Ḥüdavendgār' ('ruler'), and the *sancaḳ* of Bursa which his father bestowed on him, as shown in passage **3**, came to be known as the '*sancaḳ* of Ḥüdavendgār' in the succeeding centuries.

1 'Osmān's sons

When ʿOsmān gave out (*baḥş-et-*) the regions which he had taken, he gave the *sancaḳ* of ʒāraḥiṣār, which is called İnoñi, to his son Orḥān; he gave the post of *subaşı*¹ there to his brother Alp-Gündüz . . . He gave Aynegöl to Tuḗḡut Alp; even now the name of that worthy ('*azīz*') is remembered: there are villages in that region called Tuḗḡut-eli. To his father-in-law Şeyḥ Edebalı he gave the revenues (*ḥāşıl*) of Bilecik . . . He had another son named 'Alı Paşa: him he kept by his side.

2 Orḥān's sons

Orḥān gave [the newly conquered border region] with its *sancaḳ* to his son Süleymān Paşa: he gave the *sancaḳ*² of İnoñi to his son Murād Ḥān Ġāzī, his younger son.

¹ Literally 'army commander'.

² *Sancaḳ* has the sense of a sub-province. The troops in a *sancaḳ* fought under the banner (*sancaḳ*) of the *sancaḳ* governor.

3 Orḫān's sons, after the conquest of Nicaea

After conquering Nicaea, [Orḫān] gave Nicomedia to his son Süleymān Paşa . . . He gave the *sancaḳ* of Bursa to his son Murād Ḥān Gāzī, while Orḫān supervised (*nāzir*) the whole land.

SECTION 2 PRINCELY GOVERNORSHIPS

The practice of appointing princes to provincial governorships continued after Orḫān's death, but they were no longer sent to newly conquered territories. From the reign of Murād I until the late sixteenth century it was the custom to send princes, on reaching puberty, to governorships in Anatolia where, under the guidance of their mother (as evident from passages 1 and 2) and their tutor (*lala*), they established their own court. Passage 1 records the income assigned to Bāyezīd II's son Ḳorḳud (b. 1470), and the retinue and equipment that accompanied him as he set out for his seat of government in Manisa in 1483. Although always remaining under the supervision of their mothers and tutors, the princely governors had the right to issue decrees relating to their province in their own name, as demonstrated in passages 3, 4 and 5).

1 Prince Ḳorḳud leaves Istanbul for his governorship

A. Details of the accoutrement bestowed on Ḳorḳud Çelebi³ on 30 Dhū'l-Qa'da 888 (30 December 1483).

Cash: 100,000 *aḳçes*.

Gold *üsküf*⁴ with its red cap and white *tuğ*.⁵

1 cloak, with rich gold, of red Frankish velvet.

1 standard-finial of silver.

14 *arşun* by Bursa measure of taffeta for the standard.

Robes of honour: 20 (of red silk 10; of one-coloured silk 10).

Select saddles: 5 (inlaid overall 1; gold inlay 4).

Silverware: 1 dish, 1 tray, 2 candlesticks, 1 basin, 1 ewer.

Copper vessels: 10 dishes, 20 trays, 20 plates, 20 cups, 4 cauldrons, 3 [. . . ?].

Stables: 3 strings of horses, 5 files of mules, 10 files of camels.

B. Income enjoyed by Ḳorḳud Çelebi when he was living in the houses of İshāk Paşa⁶ before he went out to the *sancaḳ*:

To the Çelebi Sultan: daily stipend of 100 *aḳçe*

His mother: per day 50

³ *Çelebi* was a title for princes in this era.

⁴ *Üsküf*: a tall bonnet with silver thread.

⁵ *Tuğ*: a horsetail standard, here to be attached to the prince's headgear.

⁶ İshāk Pasha was the vizier responsible for placing Ḳorḳud on the throne in the interregnum between the death of Meḫmed II and the accession of Bāyezīd II in 1481.

His governess (*dāye*): per day 50

His nurse (*dadi*): per day 5

His tutor (*lālā*) Ibrāhīm Ağa: per day 50

The Ağa of his Porte: per day 5

6 pages (*oġlan*) at 2 per day: 12

3 doorkeepers at 3 per day: 9

His *hoca*⁷ per month: 1,000

Food per month: 5,000

Total per month: 13,140 per day: 298⁸ [x 30] per month: 7,140

Payments by the month: 6,000

C. Suite of Korkud Çelebi

Sipāhī-oġlans: 14

Silihdārs: 14

Ulūfecis:⁹ 20

Tent-pitchers: 3

Cooks: 5

The rest will be supplied from the daybook (*rūznāme*), as the need arises.

D. Gifts given to him five days later

2 *amīrahūrī*¹⁰ *kaftans* of Bursa velvet with gold thread and red buttons.

2 more *dolamas*¹¹ of Yazdī silk.

To his mother 10,000 *aķçe* in cash.

2 A letter from Prince 'Ālemsāh's mother Gülrūh to Bāyezīd II

May God the Blessed and Exalted, give my fortunate and felicitous sultan many years of life and, for so long as heaven and earth survive, may he be the sultan of jinn and men! May your armies be victorious and your enemies crushed! Amen, O Lord of the Worlds!

What follows: I, a weak woman and your slave, was at [your] service, rubbing my face in the dust at your feet, and free of all grief and care in the shadow of your good fortune. When at last, at the *pādiṣāh*'s command, I set out into a strange land, my sultan commanded: 'You should discipline my son in accordance with the command of God Most High and the *sharī'a* of the Prophet'. From then until now, through the grace of God Most High and the good fortune of my sultan, I have looked after him and disciplined him and now – praise be to God – in the days of my sultan, he has become a young man.

Now, my sultan, in these days of his youth, he needs a benevolent Muslim tutor who will

⁷ *Hoca* (Persian: *h'āja*): a religious teacher.

⁸ Read: 238.

⁹ The *sipahi-oġlans* ('cavalrymen'), *silihdars* ('weapon-bearers') and *ulufecis* ('salarymen') were the names of three of the Six Divisions (*altu bölük*) of the Household Cavalry serving the sultan.

¹⁰ The reading is uncertain. The *kaftans* may have been the livery of the prince's head stableman.

¹¹ A *dolama* is a jacket of fine wool or silk, worn beneath an over-garment.

nurture his spiritual and worldly well-being, always guide him to goodness and drive away the mischief-makers from his Porte. He now has a tutor who is the leader in depravity and in league with all kinds of mischief-makers. He not only ignores the command of God Most High and the *sharī'a* of the Prophet, he only ever follows his own fancies and leads my dear son astray. When he wanted to get him to satisfy his wishes, which were contrary to both the *sharī'a* and custom, and my son, your slave, did not accept, his tutor, together with that intriguer, his religious instructor and that hypocrite, the doctor, encouraged him to drink wine. And what drinking! They led him with all the members of his Porte out into the open country, with two double drums each, kettledrums and other instruments. They presented [him] with things like this, and when my son, your slave, was drunk, he did all sorts of things exactly as they wished.

Here is one of them. The people came and complained about a member of his Porte, the *subaşı*¹² called Iskender. Because several people spoke of Iskender's ill-treatment of the people and his embezzling my son your slave's money [saying] 'Let us take 20,000 *akçes* as a *muḳāṭa'a*,¹³ they seized the men who made this [complaint], clapped them in irons, and tortured the Muslims by leaving them out in the August sun. [. . .]

My fortunate sultan, by God! Numerous things like this are going on. They cannot even be described . . . It does not stop with their making him drink in the city. For a whole month they took him and forced him to drink until he became sick. He was ill for a month and, my *pādiṣāh*, when he recovered, only God knows what we suffered . . . The tutor himself committed all kinds of mischief. He incited my son your slave to do things like this, so that most of the time he would be in a stupor and he could get him to do whatever he wanted . . . My fortunate sultan! I, your weak slave, can no longer put up with the depravity of these mischief-makers . . . Up until now income has never covered expenditure. I, his mother, have not received my salary for a year. Others are in the same position. We sent to him to complain that he had increased expenditure, because one day he had had fifty kaftans distributed in a gathering. The other outgoings are all like this. They felt insulted because I said this, and when I previously sent to them to say that the longer the tutor perpetrates mischief, the more he does things like this, inciting my son [to commit] acts harmful to his spiritual and worldly welfare, and causing a deficit in my accounts, they said that our slave, the *aḡa* of the Porte had taught [me] to say this. The *dīvān* also denounced [him], and a few evil-doers spread the word. They made it understood that what I, your slave, had said came from him. By God, my *pādiṣāh*! What they said about him is a lie. There is no more faithful slave than him, he is a true Muslim . . .

Now my son is the slave of my fortunate sultan and the fruit of my life. I am terrified that these mischief-makers may suddenly, at their leisure, destroy him and deceive me. My fortunate sultan! Answer my cries and, by the majesty of God Most High and by the soul of the Prophet, and [for the sake of this] lady, your slave, remove his tutor, his religious teacher and his doctor, who are workers of sedition. My sultan has many slaves and learned men. Send a slave and a learned man who will further his spiritual and worldly welfare by acting as his tutor and religious teacher . . .

The insignificant one, the mother of 'Ālemṣāh¹⁴

¹² *Subaşı* ('army chief'): the holder of large fief, usually responsible for maintaining order in a district.

¹³ *Muḳāṭa'a*: usually, a bundle of revenues sold as a tax farm. That does not seem to be the meaning here.

¹⁴ Prince 'Ālemṣāh died in 1503.

3 A decree of Prince Aḥmed to the *yaya yoldaşlar*¹⁵

When the exalted sign¹⁶ arrives, you are to know that heretofore I found it necessary to go to the borders of the land. Now, reposing my trust in God, I have returned and come to Amasya, on my way to that direction [where the addressees are]. Now my brother [Selīm]'s true situation is known to you, and since I have had full confidence in you from of old, it is my full intention to show you due favour. I am not annoyed with you at all. If some malicious person has misrepresented what I said, do not believe it; for by God, I am not annoyed with you, but pleased with you. When by God's grace I attain my desire [the throne], I will give to the *yaya-başı*s fine flowered velvets (*ağır çatma*) and make their pay 25 *ağır çatma*: and I will make my gift always an *ağır çatma*, not permitting any treasurer's charge (*hazinedārlik*). Those of you who are due for promotion to the *böyük*¹⁷ I will promote to the *bölüks* of the *sipāhīs* and the *silihdārs*,¹⁸ giving the first 20 *ağır çatma* a day each, and the second 18. To those going out to a *tīmār*, I will give a *tīmār* of 15,000 *ağır çatma*. For those not going to the *bölük* or to a *tīmār*, I will make their pay 10 *ağır çatma* . . . By God the High the Great, by God the Mighty the Ancient, I will not break this compact ('*ahd ü peymān*) . . . After you have sent, by a man whom you trust, the reply to this noble compact ('*ahdnāme*), keep me informed of how things are with you . . . 11 Shawwāl 918 (20 December 1512).

4 A decree of Prince Selīm [II]

A command should be written to the *kādī* of Kastamonu:

My imperial household (*hāşşa-i hümayūnum*) is in need of some copper vessels. Copper should be bought from Küre the Prosperous.¹⁹ Each of the ewers has been described exactly and marked. My slave [. . .] has been sent, and when he arrives you should set the craftsmen there to work on them very rapidly and send them to my Porte by hired pack-animal. You should record individually how and for how much each type [of vessel] is produced, sign the record and send it with [the vessels], recording [also the cost of] hiring [the pack-animals].

This matter is important. You should not allow any delay but make them work rapidly.

Written on 5 Jumādā I 954 (23 June 1547).

5 A decree of Prince Meḥmed [III]

Tuesday, 20 Şa'bān the Mighty 999 (13 June 1591).

It was proven according to the *sharī'a* that the brigand called Ḥaccī Muştafā from the *każā* of Ortapare attacked Selver, the wife of someone called 'Īsā from the village called Kuyucak, with the intention of committing a vile act, and that the Muslims rescued her from him. When a copy of the court record was submitted, he was condemned to the galleys, and a noble command was sent to the [*sancağ*] *begi* of Sığla.

¹⁵ Literally, 'companions on foot'. Presumably the Janissaries.

¹⁶ 'The exalted sign' (*nişān*) refers to the prince's cipher (*tuğra*) at the head of the decree, guaranteeing its authenticity.

¹⁷ *Bölük* refers to one of the six divisions of the sultan's household cavalry.

¹⁸ The *sipāhīs* and the *silihdārs* were the two superior *bölüks*.

¹⁹ The copper-mining district of Anatolia.

SECTION 3 FRATRICIDE

When a sultan died, there was no rule as to which prince should inherit the throne. Instead, any male member of the Ottoman dynasty in the paternal line was entitled to succeed the deceased sultan, and the succession went to whichever prince had eliminated his rivals – normally, but not invariably, his brothers. The practice of fratricide was known already in the fourteenth century and is recorded by the former Byzantine Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (d. 1383), as can be seen in passage 1. The first Ottoman ruler to eliminate his brothers was possibly Murad I (r. 1362–89), but the first clearly recorded instance was the assassination of Bāyezīd I's brother Ya'qūb in 1389, as shown in passages 2a and 2b). Passage 3 indicates that, following the passing of Bāyezīd I (r. 1389–1402), his sons Süleymān, Mūsā and Meḥmed fought to the death rather than accept joint rulership. The death of a sultan was often the signal for a period of anarchy, and it was for this reason that the sultan's entourage would attempt to conceal news of his death until the succession was decided, as passages 4 and 7 show.

In 1482, Bāyezīd II ordered the killing of his nephew, the son of his brother Cem (5) who, after his defeat in battle, had fled to Rhodes, and in 1522 Süleymān I executed a son of Prince Cem whom he found still living on the island. When there was more than one adult prince to contest the succession, the throne went to the one who succeeded in defeating and killing his rivals in war. Passage 3 in Section 2 above presents the decree from Prince Aḥmed, which is an attempt to buy the Janissaries' adherence to his cause in the war over the succession with his brother Selīm [I] in 1512. (As for the distribution of gifts in a bid to secure allegiance, passage 6 describes how, during the succession from Murad II to Mehmed II, the abdicating sultan himself saw it fit to show various favours to his viziers.)

That fratricide within the dynasty never gained popular acceptance is clear from the justificatory language which the literary chroniclers felt obliged to use when describing the practice, as seen in passages 2b and 7b. Popular chroniclers were more forthright, using the story of Orḫān's fictitious brother 'Alī Paşa as a vehicle to express their disgust in passage 8. Fratricide as normal practice ended after the accession of Meḥmed III in 1595; passage 9 describes how the new sultan executed the nineteen brothers that he found in the palace, provoking an outcry in the capital. It was the courtiers of the Inner Palace that fixed the bloodless accession of his son, Aḥmed I, in 1603, as evident in passage 10.

1 A statement of the former Byzantine Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos (d. 1383)

For they have a barbaric law to kill everyone who disputes for rule, and to spare neither for age nor kinship . . . for it is their custom to act thus not only towards those of other tribes but towards those of the same tribe also.

2 The accession of Bāyezīd I, 1389

2a From the Anonymous Chronicles

An infidel came unexpectedly and martyred Ġāzī Murād. On learning of this, the *begs* consulted together and as a result summoned Ya'qūb Çelebi, saying: 'Come, your father wants

you'. They took him to the tent and attended to him: they placed Bāyezīd on the throne (*taht*) and made him *pādiṣāh*.

2b From Karamanī Mehmed Pasha's historical treatise on the Ottomans

Thus, the sultan entered the ranks of the martyrs . . . This was in the year 791 (1389). The length of his reign was thirty years. In that year the throne of the sultanate was mounted by his felicitous son, his rightly-guided successor, upheld by the support of Him Who is praised and glorious, Sultan Bāyezīd Hān. He was a just man and valiant, a friend to the *'ulemā* and the dervishes, showing mercy to the rich and concern for the ascetics and the pious. To him mighty monarchs turned their faces 'from every remote path' and towards him learned *'ulemā* made their way from every distant station. He had a brother named Ya'kūb Çelebi, in whose survival lay great possibilities and mischiefs (*mafāsīd*), which are not hidden from him who possesses sound intelligence. Hence, the sultan dealt with him as was necessary: 'necessity justifies what is forbidden' (*al-ḍarūrāt tubīḥ al-maḥzūrāt*). Thus, the inherited state remained under the hand of the valiant and generous and excellent sultan, without the rivalry of a rival or the contention of a contender.

3 The civil war (1402–13)

Since the coming of Tīmūr Beg to fight with Bāyezīd Beg and the defeat of Bāyezīd Beg and the accession of his son Süleymān Beg and the seizing of the country of Rūmeli is nineteen years.

Since the death of Emīr Süleymān Beg at the hand of his brother Emīr Mūsā and the accession of Mūsā b. Bāyezīd Beg is twelve years.

Since the death of Emīr Mūsā at the hand of his brother and the accession of the Sultan of Islam and the Muslims . . . Sultan Meḥmed . . . is eight years.

4 The accession of Murād II, 1421

Before Sultan Meḥmed died [at Edirne], they sent the Çāşnigīr-başı²⁰ Elvān Beg to Rūm,²¹ to fetch Sultan Murād. Sultan Meḥmed had four sons and seven daughters. Before he died, he had made the testamentary declaration (*vaşīyet*): 'Put Sultan Murād on the throne'. When they had sent off the *Çāşnigīr-başı*, the viziers Hāccī 'Ivaż Paşa and Bāyezīd Paşa and İbrāhīm Paşa met together and consulted. They sent the Janissaries into Anatolia, telling them: 'There is a campaign.' By the time Sulṭān Murād had been informed and had come to Bursa, they had concealed Sultan Meḥmed's death for forty days, not letting anyone know; then they sent the body to Bursa.

5 The accession of Bāyezīd II, 1481

My slave Iskender: when this letter (*biti*) reaches you, you are to know that I have killed Gedik [Aḥmed Paşa].²² It is necessary that you, without delay, have Cem's son strangled. This is

²⁰ *Çāşnigīr başı*: the chief taster.

²¹ Anatolia.

²² Bāyezīd suspected the vizier Gedik Aḥmed Paşa of loyalty to Prince Cem.

most urgent – but no-one is to know about it. Thus you are to know: you are to place reliance upon the Noble Sign. Written in the third decade of Shawwāl of the year 887 (January 1482).

In the residence of Edirne.²³

6 The first accession of Meḥmed II, 1444

The *pādiṣāh* [Murād II] spent some days in Bursa, then arose and encamped in the plain of Mihaliç. He summoned the *ağa* of the Janissaries, Hızır Ağa, and the other *begs*, showed them favours (*iltifāt*) according to their ranks, clad them with garments (*libās*) and said: ‘Look, *begs* and pashas. Until this moment, it is I who have been your *pādiṣāh*. From today, your *pādiṣāh* is my son. Now show me how you get on together and how you manage things and how you apply yourselves to every task! For I have given all my crown and throne and my title (‘*unvān*’) entirely to my son. Now you are to recognise my son as *pādiṣāh*.’ Saying ‘It is for the Hünkār to command’, they all placed their heads to the ground.

7 The second accession of Meḥmed II, 1451

[Murād II] lay ill for three days, and on the fourth day they sent a messenger to his son, who came on the thirteenth day. For thirteen days they concealed his corpse, and the pashas told no-one that he had died: they held *dīvāns*²⁴ and allocated *tīmārs*, and the physicians pretended to carry out treatment and to give potions. Thirteen days after his death, his son, Sultan Meḥmed Hān, came to Edirne and sat on the throne: then the people realised that Murād was dead. Meḥmed at once sent his father’s body to Bursa. He had a tiny brother, born of the daughter of Isfendiyār. Him too he sent to his place.

7a From Michael Doukas’s *Historia Turco-Byzantina*

Then finding a son of his father, eight months old, born of the daughter of Isfendiyār, the lord of Sinop, his legal wife (while he himself [Meḥmed] was born of a slave), the mother of the child, who was his own [Meḥmed’s] step-mother, being on that day in the palace to offer condolences to the ruler, he sent one of the commanders from among the sons of Evrenos, named ‘Alī, who was at that time chief doorkeeper (*protoostiaros*); and he strangled the child in the apartment of the aforesaid lady. The next day [Meḥmed] killed ‘Alī, too, and gave the child’s mother, all unwilling, in marriage to his father’s slave Ishāk.

7b From Ibn Kemāl’s *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân*

As has been set out before, Sultan Murād Hān had an infant son named Aḥmed, by the daughter of Isfendiyār . . . Although he was brother to the *pādiṣāh*, he was a foe to kingship (*milk*) and a burning coal on the threshing-floor of the realm (*mülk*). The ancient *ḥadīth* has been transmitted: ‘Kingship is childless, and pregnant like the night’. It is an accepted report that ‘Two lions cannot dwell together in one thicket nor two stallions share one mare. Two swords cannot fit into one scabbard, nor two lions rest in one lair’. Though he was still an immature

²³ This decree of Bāyezīd II appears to be an autograph.

²⁴ *Dīvāns*: councils.

child, yet action was taken by the counsel of experienced elders . . . and it was seen to be the better course (*mustahsen*) to root up the sapling of mischief (*fesād*) before it put forth leaves and branches and to extinguish the sparks of the fire of tumults (*fiten*) before they burst into flame . . .

8 Popular criticism of fratricide: the story of the abdication of ‘Alī Pasha

When Orhān Ġāzī became a sovereign *pādiṣāh* in the whole land, his brother ‘Alī Pasha left his position as *beglerbegi* and became a dervish . . . In those days *pādiṣāhs* and lords took counsel with their brothers. They honoured and respected one another, right up to the time of Yıldırım Ħan.²⁵ Brother killing brother began in the time of Yıldırım Ħan.

9 The accession of Mehmed III, 1595

Thus on Friday 27 January, at the ninth hour and a quarter of the day, the new king Sultan Mehmed arrived in Constantinople . . . He disembarked in public near the gate called ‘of the Jews’,²⁶ at the *köşk* or new pavilion that was made recently on the shore near the Great Palace . . . He entered on foot, not wishing to mount a horse (although one was brought for him), in company with his *lālā* . . . and the *bostāncı-başı*²⁷ . . . He went in straightaway to see the queen his mother, whom he had not seen for twelve years, and the king his father [lying] dead, and then he entered the royal-chamber and sat in the royal seat (*sedia*). All of the viziers arrived by the public gate of the Great Palace to kiss his hand. Meanwhile the death of Sultan Murād [III] and the accession of the new sultan were announced by public proclamation in all the markets and public places of the city, and guards of Janissaries were posted in them . . .

At the time when the *ikindi*²⁸ was called from the towers,²⁹ that is, at the 22nd hour, they carried the dead king from the Great Palace in a cypress coffin entirely covered with a cloth of silk and gold, written all over with Turkish letters, which the Turks regard with great reverence since it had come from Mecca and had covered the tomb of their prophet, and with a turban made in the fashion which he used to wear when alive, with a *sorguç* in it (which is various feathers with jewels, which the Grand Signiors are accustomed to wear). There went before the noble viziers of the Porte, namely [. . .], and nearer the body Ibrāhīm Paşa and Ħalīl Paşa, his sons-in-law. The *ağas* and other principal lords of the court carried him on their hands, all dressed in black cloth; and on their turbans, which they wore small out of mourning, some had black veils (*veli*) and others were wearing *şemles*, which are turbans made of woven wool, as a sign of mourning . . . That night there were led before the new king Sultan Mehmed’s nineteen brothers who remained alive, born to his father of various mothers (and not one of them of his own mother), to kiss his hand and so that he might see them alive, according to their age, the eldest being eleven. The king their brother told them not to be afraid, for he did not wish to harm them but only to have them circumcised after their custom. This was a thing that none of his predecessors had ever done. As soon as they had kissed his hand they were circumcised and led aside and dexterously strangled with handkerchiefs by

²⁵ Yıldırım means ‘thunderbolt’ in Turkish and refers here to Bāyezīd I.

²⁶ Çıft Kapı.

²⁷ *Bostāncı başı*: head gardener.

²⁸ The afternoon prayer.

²⁹ The minarets.

a mute. This is a matter certainly worthy of amazement and full of cruelty, except that the custom of this realm mitigates it and makes it not seem so unusual. On Saturday these innocent princes were washed and made ready in their fashion, one after the other, according to their ages, and all placed in cypress coffins and in the same order laid out facing (*dinanzi*) the court of the *dīvān*³⁰ and shown to the king dead, for it is the custom that he should see them first alive and then also dead, and that he should strengthen the first foundations of his reign with his brothers' blood.

10 The accession of Aḥmed I, 1603

On 18 Rajab 1012 (22 December 1603) the *kā'immaḳām*³¹ for the grand vizierate, the vizier Kāsım Paşa, after performing the dawn prayer, set out for the *dīvān* as usual and took his place beneath the dome. Before complainants were admitted and while the viziers were still on their own and had not begun to discuss affairs, Hüseyın Ağa, who at that time was the *kethüdā* of the doorkeepers, was summoned in haste to the *bāb-i sa'ādet*,³² and the *āga* of the *bāb-i sa'ādet* came out and gave him a note wrapped in a napkin, saying 'Give this *ḥaṭṭ-i hümāyün*³³ to the *kā'immaḳām*'. Hüseyın delivered it to Kāsım Paşa, who opened and looked at it, but could not read it. He asked Hüseyın: 'What sort of a note is this? Who gave it to you?' Hüseyın explained that the *kapu āgası* had given it, saying that it was a *ḥaṭṭ-i hümāyün*. The *paşa* then said: 'This writing is illegible and not like the *pādişāh*'s hand. It has the word "my father", but our *pādişāh*'s father is no longer alive'. He then showed it to me, saying: 'I cannot read it. Perhaps you can'. I came up close to the *paşa*'s ear and read out the extraordinary missive secretly. It said: 'You, Kāsım Paşa: my father has died at God's command, and I have seated myself on the throne. Control the city firmly.³⁴ If there is any trouble, I will cut off your head'. When Kāsım Paşa understood what it said, he was very distressed and thoroughly perplexed, for there had been no word that Sultan Meḥmed was ill. At last he sent a note to the *āga* of the *bāb-i sa'ādet*, 'Abdu'r-rezzāk, saying 'They have brought me a strange Noble Rescript, but I cannot understand what it means. Is the intention to try me, or does it mean what it says?' The *kethüdā* of the gatekeepers was sent out, and Kāsım Paşa was invited alone into the '*arż odası*'.³⁵ He arrived there alone and in a hurry, but when he saw Sultan Aḥmed Ḥān in person seated upon the throne, he trusted [what he saw] and returned to the *dīvān*. He sent the *çavuş başı*³⁶ with a sealed note summoning the *muftı*. Then the *mi'mār āga*³⁷ was ordered to attend to the funeral arrangements, while the *āga* of the Janissaries and the others who were present at the *dīvān* were warned not to go away. The place where the imperial throne was to be set up was prepared, and then the felicitous imperial throne itself was brought out. Everyone had

³⁰ The second court in the palace. The council chamber where the imperial council (*dīvān*) met is situated in this court.

³¹ *Kā'immaḳām* ('deputy'): the vizier appointed to deputise for the grand vizier.

³² *Bāb-i sa'ādet* ('the gate of felicity'): the gate leading from the second court of the palace to the third court.

³³ *Ḥaṭṭ-i hümāyün* ('imperial rescript'): an order of the sultan written in his own hand.

³⁴ The interregnum between the death of a sultan and the enthronement of his successor was often the signal for rioting, especially by the Janissaries, hence the need to conceal the sultan's death and to maintain control of Istanbul.

³⁵ *Arż odası* ('chamber of petitions'): the throne-room between the second and third courts of the palace where the sultan received petitions.

³⁶ *Çavuş başı*: the head *çavuş* in the palace.

³⁷ *Mi'mār āga*: the sultan's chief architect.

their own guess as to what was going on, [all] imagining that Sultān Meḥmed would appear. Not a single person was aware of what had happened. When the *mufit*, Muṣṭafā Efendi, came to the *dīvān*, he emerged with the viziers and stood with them in line beside the throne, while the other dignitaries and people stood opposite. Then a felicitous youth of about fourteen came out, wearing a *şemle* and with a Yūsufi turban on his head. Making salutations (*selām*) to left and right he approached the throne and took his place on it. The people of the world were in shock: some wept, and some were overcome. After the *çavuşes* had shouted the acclamation (*gülbāng*), and prayers had been performed and praise given, first the *mufit* and the viziers and then the other people present at the *dīvān*, in these strange circumstances, in turn made the *bay'a*. When no-one was left, the *pādişāh* gave a salutation and went into the inner palace, and the heaven-like throne was removed.

SOURCES

Section 1

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- 2 *Anonymous Chronicles*, MS E, fol. 8r.
- 3 *Anonymous Chronicles*, MS E, fol. 9r.

Section 2

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- 2 M. Çağatay Uluçay, *Haremden Mektuplar*, Istanbul (1956, repr. 2012), 36–9.
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Section 3

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- 2a *Anonymous Chronicles*, MS E, fol. 17r.
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- 6 Halil İnalçık and Mevlûd Oğuz (eds.), *Gazavât-i Sultân Murâd b Mehemmed Hân*, Ankara (1978), 36–7.
- 7 'Âşıkpaşazâde, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân*, ch. 122.
- 7a Michal Ducas, ed. Vasile Grecu, *Historia-Turco Byzantina (1341–1462)*, Bucharest (1958), 287; this passage is also translated in Doukas, tr. Harry J. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks*, Detroit (1975), 190.
- 7b Ibn Kemâl, ed. Şerafettin Turan, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân*, vol. VII, Ankara (1957), 9–10.
- 8 Oruç b. 'Adil, ed. Franz Babinger, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osmân*, Hanover (1925), 15–16.

- 9 Report to Barton, H. G. Rosedale, *Queen Elizabeth and the Levant Company*, London (1904), plates 6–8. The English ambassador Barton received this report from the Portuguese Jew Salomon Usque, who had probably heard it from Esperanza Malchi, the agent (*kira*) of Meḥmed III's mother Şafiye.
- 10 Ḥasan Beyzāde Aḥmed Paşa, ed. Şevki Nezihi Aykut, *Hasan Bey-zāde Tārîhi*, vol. III, Istanbul (2004), 797–804.

The Dynasty: Recruitment into the Sultan's Service

SECTION 1 *PENCİK*¹ AND *DEVŞİRME*

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries most members of the sultan's household – whether as troops, palace servants or as members of the political elite – entered imperial service by one of two routes. The first of these was as prisoners taken in frontier raids and wars in Europe, as described in passage **1**. While most prisoners-of-war remained the property of their captors, to be sold in the market as slaves, the sultan took a certain proportion – nominally one-fifth – for his own use, to be brought up in his service. In addition to his share of the captives, the sultan also secured an income from prisoners-of-war by levying a toll on each captive ferried across the Straits from Europe to Anatolia via the ports of Istanbul and Gallipoli, as described in passage **2**. The regulations from the time of Bayezid II (r. 1481–1512) laid out in passage **1** show that, among other legislative efforts of this reign, there was an attempt to systematise and control this practice.

The second route into the sultan's service was through the *devşirme* ('collection'). This was the levy of Christian boys made primarily, although not exclusively, in the Balkan provinces of the Ottoman Empire. Passage **3** is a template providing a model for commands to local authorities to carry out the levy and laying out the procedures to be followed. Since the levy was a gateway to a career in the sultan's service and a regular income, and since it also provided opportunities for the recruits to petition the sultan on behalf of their original families and communities, as evident in passage **4**, it was not necessarily unpopular. Passages **5** and **6** nonetheless make it clear that some of the boys raised in this way tried to abscond.

1 A decree regulating the *pencik*

The command conveyed by the imperial sign² is this:

Various texts (*naşş*) in the Ancient Word of the Wise Sovereign offer decisive proofs that

¹ *Pencik* (from Persian *panjyak*; 'one-fifth'): the levy of – nominally – one-fifth of the prisoners-of-war for the sultan's service.

² The 'imperial sign' is the *tuğra*, the sultan's cipher which was affixed to sultanic decrees to guarantee their authenticity.

the *ğāzīs* and the fighters of the *jihād* enjoy a near approach to God and an exalted rank. Hence it has been the noble practice of my illustrious forefathers and mighty ancestors, from their first origin to the present day, to root out infidelity and sin and to destroy the foundations of the temples of the idolaters, and thus to acquire religious merit. And now, since I too have followed in their path so that the gate of the *ğazā* and the *jihād*³ lies open, and since the *pencikçi-başı*⁴ Yūsuf has sent a man to my lofty Porte requesting a *kānūnnāme*,⁵ I have given him this *kānūnnāme* and have commanded as follows:

If the *uc begis*⁶ assemble the *aķıncıs*⁷ and the other young warriors and make an incursion into the *dārü'l-ḥarb*,⁸ that is an *aķın*; and if the *ucbegis* do not campaign themselves but put the *aķıncıs* and the other young warriors under the command of their deputies and send them into the *dārü'l-ḥarb*, so that they number one hundred or more, that is a *ḥarāmīlik*; and from these two types of expedition, the *pencik* is to be taken. If the *ucbegis* do not campaign but send their deputies so that the number campaigning is less than one hundred, that is a *çete*, and of this the *pencik* is not to be taken. Henceforth this practice is to be followed, and no other.

On the matter of rewards to the *ucbegis* and the *pencikçis* and the *ṭovicas*,⁹ I have commanded: When there is an *aķın* or a *ḥarāmīlik*, all the lads brought in on that *aķın* or *ḥarāmīlik* – all those in the possession of the commanders of the *aķın*, of the *pencikçis*, of the *ṭovicas*, of the *aķıncıs* and of the other young warriors – are to be assembled and registered under the supervision of the *pencikçi-başı*. The commander of the *aķın* is to be rewarded with twenty of the lads whom he brought in by his own efforts, the *pencikçis* with five each of those whom they won themselves, the higher-ranking *ṭovicas* with one each of those whom they won themselves, and the lower-ranking *ṭovicas* with one between two of those whom they won themselves. The rest, from the age of ten to seventeen, are to be taken [by Yūsuf]. If some of those over the age of seventeen show signs of being suitable, they too are to be taken, the owner being paid for each lad 300 *aķçes* from the Treasury. The lads taken must not be crippled or sick, or show signs of reaching puberty, or have begun to grow a beard.

When the *pencik* lads are due to be taken, the *sancaķbegi*¹⁰ and the *ṭovicas* are to assist. No one is to raise objections in this matter. If anyone refuses obedience, the *sancaķbegi* is to punish him; if anyone persists in obstinacy, the matter is to be reported to me in writing, for me to punish him.

Further, I have commanded that when, of the lads brought in from the *aķıns* and *ḥarāmīliks*, those to be taken for the state (*beglik*) have been taken and the levy is completed, the *ṭovicas* are to offer assistance until they reach pacified territory (*ellik*), guarding them where necessary and conducting them where necessary. If it happens that *ṭovicas* are bringing lads out of hostile territory (*yaġı*), the matter is to be reported to me and action taken as I command.

Further, I have commanded that, in whatever way a person is to be rewarded, he is to be

³ *Ğazā* and *jihād* both have the general sense of 'holy war'. *Jihād* refers to the activity in general; *ğazā* refers to a single campaign.

⁴ The commander of the *pencikçis*: the officials charged with organising and administering the *pencik*.

⁵ *Kānūnnāme*: a code of sultanic laws. See Chapter VII.

⁶ *Uc begis* ('frontier lords'): the hereditary governors of *sancaķs* on the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire in Europe.

⁷ *Aķıncıs* ('raiders'): the cavalry stationed on the frontiers of the empire in Europe, charged with making raids into enemy territory.

⁸ *Dārü'l-ḥarb* (Arabic: 'the Abode of War'): the territory outside the realms of Islam.

⁹ *Ṭovica* (Mongol): an officer of the *aķıncıs*.

¹⁰ The *sancaķbegi* is involved as the chief officer of the area where the selection is taking place.

rewarded from what he has won by his own efforts: he is not to transfer to his own name the prisoner (*esīr*) of somebody else.

Further, I have commanded that when the *pencikçis* are going to assemble the *pencik* lads, they are to do it with the co-operation of the commander who led the raid. One register of all the lads assembled is to be written by the *pencikçi-başı* and one by the commander of the raid. When the *pencik* lads are brought to my lofty Porte, the register and a representative of each¹¹ is to come with them. If the commander of the raid is not present in person, the lads are to be assembled and registered under the supervision of his deputy; when later the lads come to my Porte, the representative of this deputy, with the deputy's register, and the representative of the *pencikçi* with the *pencikçi*'s register are to come and hand over the registers together.

Further, I have commanded that on the matter of the gifts of animals won on raids, whatever regulation and custom (*kānūn ve ʿadet*) has been followed from of old up to the present is to be followed.

Further, I have commanded that the *uc begis* and the *pencikçis* and the *tovicas* are to regard this *kānūn* as incontestable and established. They are to act according to its tenor, making no alteration and offering no opposition. If anyone alters or opposes it, he will be punished. Thus they are to know. Written in the first decade of Shawwāl 898 (16–25 July 1493).

2 Tolls to be levied on slaves taken across the Bosphorus

To the *kādī* of Istanbul and the *emīn*¹² for the *pencik*.

When the exalted sign¹³ arrives, be it known that: You the *emīn* have sent a letter to my Porte and requested a *kānūnnāme* on the matter of the *pencik* of the prisoners¹⁴ who come to the quay (*iskele*) . . . Now the ancient *kānūn*¹⁵ on the *pencik* is this:

on a baby at the breast and up to the age of three, 10–30 *aḳçe* are taken;
 from ages three to eight, 100 *aḳçe*: these are called ‘children’ (*beçe*);
 from ages eight to twelve, 120–200 *aḳçe*: these are called ‘lads’ (*gūlāmçe*);
 from a *gūlām*¹⁶ who is of age (*bālīg*) 250–280 *aḳçe*;
 from a bearded *kāfir*,¹⁷ 200–270 *aḳçe*;
 from an old (*pīr*) *kāfir*, 150–200 *aḳçe*, but if he is senile (*fertūt*) 130–50.
 If a *gūlām* or *kāfir* lacks an eye or a hand, 130–50 *aḳçe* are taken.
 For a slave-girl who is an *umm walad*,¹⁸ 120–50 *aḳçe* are taken.
 If [a female prisoner] is fully-grown (?), elderly, a young girl or an infant; has a defect [that would affect her market-price]; is ill or crippled, or lacks a hand or an eye, [the toll] should be taken in accordance with what is given above.

¹¹ That is, of the *pencikçi-başı* and the commander.

¹² *Emīn*: a salaried official administering an enterprise.

¹³ A reference to the *tuğra*, the sultan's cipher, authenticating the document as coming from the sultan.

¹⁴ *Esīr* (‘prisoner’): here in the sense of ‘slave’.

¹⁵ *Kānūn*: a law or regulation issued by or ratified by the sultan; sultanic law in general.

¹⁶ *Gūlām*: a young man.

¹⁷ *Kāfir*: an infidel.

¹⁸ *Umm walad* (‘mother of a child’): a female slave who has given birth to her master's child, which he has recognised as his.

Now I have commanded that, when the felicitous command arrives, you are to act according to this *kānūnnāme* and to collect the *pencik* as set out; and you are to write down each person separately, class by class, in detail noting beneath the name of each the money collected, and to make a detailed register, leaving nothing out. You are to show all zeal in this matter and to collect the imperial moneys (*māl-i pādišāhī*).

You who are the *kāḍī* are to register the copy of this *kānūnnāme* in the *sicillāt*:¹⁹ it is not to be lost but always followed; and after you have seen this decree, you are to leave it in the possession of the *emīn*, and whoever becomes *emīn* [later] is to retain it . . . 6 Shawwāl 916 (6 January 1511).

3 A template decree for levying boys for the *devşirme*

The command of this noble sign is this:

Since it has from of old been the *kānūn* and the custom in my well-protected territories to take lads for the Janissaries, I have ordered that in the *kāḍīlik*²⁰ of X, embracing x households, and in that of Y, embracing y households, a and b lads respectively, a total of c, be collected, at the rate of one lad per forty households: and having full confidence in the trustworthiness and probity of [. . .], I have appointed him *emīn*, and I have given this order to [. . .] one of the *yayabaşıs*²¹ of my exalted court, and I have commanded that he is to go without delay to these *kāḍīlıks*, to warn the people by proclamation in each *kāḍīlık*, and, without omitting a single village, to gather all the sons of the infidels and of the *a'yān*,²² together with their fathers, and have them brought before him and to inspect them personally. If any infidel has several sons, he is to register and take and detain one good one for the Janissary service, of the age of fourteen or fifteen, or at the most seventeen or eighteen; but he is not to take the son of a man not having several sons,²³ and after taking one he is to send the others back to their father, without any injustice (*hayfu ta'arruż*).

Having taken and registered one lad according to my command, he is not [thereafter] to exchange him.²⁴ The name of every boy taken, his father's name, the names of the villages and of the father's *sipāhī*,²⁵ and the description of the boy are to be registered in detail, so that if the boy disappears, reference to the register will show who he is and where he comes from, and he can easily be recovered. It is reported that when such collections are made, *levends*²⁶ from outside are included by deception: no such person is to be included, but the [bearer] is to collect from the sons of settled *ra'ıyet*²⁷ infidels, being on guard against trickery.

And I have commanded that when the Janissary boys have been collected to the number of 100 or 150, [the bearer] is to put his trusted agent in charge of them, handing over the register, too. Each *kāḍī*²⁸ also is to attach his own trusted agent [to the consignment], together with a

¹⁹ *Sicillāt* (plural of *sicill*): a *kāḍī*'s registers.

²⁰ *Kāḍīlık*: a *każā*, the judicial and administrative district of a *kāḍī*.

²¹ *Yayabaşı*: an officer of the Janissaries.

²² *A'yān*: the local notables.

²³ Otherwise his farm would lack labour for cultivation, thereby reducing revenue.

²⁴ That is, he should not exchange him for an inferior one.

²⁵ *Sipāhī* ('cavalryman'): a cavalryman occupying a fief (*timar*).

²⁶ *Levend*: a ruffian, sometimes serving as an auxiliary in the army.

²⁷ *Ra'ıyet* (pl. *re'āyā*): a member of the tax-paying peasantry.

²⁸ *Kāḍī*: a legal official, combining the functions of judge, notary and administrator.

sufficient number of *voynuks*²⁹ (in places where there are *voynuks*) or (where there are not) of *müsellems*³⁰ and men of the *sipāhīs* [to act as escort], and so send them to the *ağa* of the Janissaries in Istanbul. They are to be strictly guarded on the way, so that there is no chance of one escaping or disappearing. The person registering the Janissary boys is to make two registers, one remaining with himself and the other sent on with the man by whom he sends the Janissary boys; the latter is to deliver the boys, together with that register, to the *ağa* of the Janissaries: and later the two registers are to be compared, so that there is no possibility of making substitutions among the Janissary boys.

And I have commanded that [the bearer] is to warn the man by whom he sends the boys on ahead that, as he is taking them to Istanbul, he is not to delay or to take one *aķçe* from anybody or to permit any exactions, but to bring them by the direct route. He is not to confuse the halting places, so that they lodge overnight twice in any one village, to save the villagers from excessive hardship in feeding the Janissary boys and taking them into their houses and keeping them in custody.

The *kādīs* of those [two] *kādīlıks* and the *nā'ibs*³¹ and the *subaşı*s³² and their representatives and the village *kethüdas*³³ are to offer all assistance in this matter, and are to present before [the bearer] all the boys in the villages and districts under their jurisdictions: nobody's son is to be kept back in his house or concealed or smuggled away – every precaution is to be taken against any sort of deception.

In this matter, the bearer and his men and other people engaged in this business are absolutely forbidden to take one *aķçe* from anyone. If anyone hides away a boy on his *tīmār*³⁴ or in his house or in his village and does not show him to the bearer, or helps a boy escape, or introduces a *levend* by trickery, or shows any negligence or indulgence, I will grant no latitude at all but will cause him to suffer *siyāset*.³⁵ Let them realise this . . .

(undated; early sixteenth century?)

4 A Janissary lobbies the sultan on behalf of his family

A command is to be written to the *kādī* of Tepedelen:³⁶

At this present time, my slave (*kul*) Ḥasan, one of the Janissaries of my Porte, has come to my Porte and stated: 'I used to live in the village of Toskoş, belonging to the *każā* of Tepedelen, my infidel name being Lagalik, and when I was taken as an '*acemī-oğlan* the 30 *aķçe* entered against me in the *harāc*³⁷-register was not deleted, so that year by year the *harāc*-collectors demand from my relations there the *harāc* imposed upon me. This is unfair (*hayf*)'.³⁸

Now, I have commanded that when my noble command arrives you are to investigate

²⁹ *Voynuķ*: a Serbian auxiliary soldier. See Chapter VII.

³⁰ *Müsellem*: one of a group exempted from certain taxes in exchange for auxiliary military service.

³¹ *Nā'ib*: a *kādī*'s deputy.

³² *Subaşı*: an officer commanding a division of provincial *sipāhīs*, and also having police functions in his district.

³³ *Kethüdā* ('deputy'): here, a headman representing his village to the government.

³⁴ *Tīmār*: a *sipāhī*'s fief. See Chapter V.

³⁵ *Siyāset*: capital punishment.

³⁶ Tepelenë in southern Albania.

³⁷ *Harāc*: the *jizya*, the head-tax imposed on non-Muslims, in Ottoman practice often referred to as *harāc*. See Chapter VIII.

³⁸ The boy's statement to the *dīvān* shows that he remained in touch with his family after he had been taken as a *devşirme* and drafted into the Janissaries. This must have been a common experience.

(*teftiṣ*), with the cognizance of the *ḥarāc*-collectors, whether this man is indeed the one who was taken from this village as *'acemī-oğlan*. If it is proven and evident according to the noble *sharī'a* that he is, you are to make an entry against his name so that the *ḥarāc* in question is not, contrary to the noble *sharī'a*, to be demanded from his relations . . . 980 (1572)

5 Escaping the *devşirme*

Command to the *beg* and the *kādī* of Sīs:³⁹

You the *kādī* have sent a letter and reported: 'Heretofore the *yaya-başı* Dāvūd, who had come for the collection of *'acemī-oğlans*,⁴⁰ took seven boys from the village of Meki and brought them to the *ağa*: after initiating (*telkīn*) them [into Islam], he took them to Istanbul and changed their garments;⁴¹ then some *dhimmīs*,⁴² the relatives of those boys, stole them away and brought them to the aforementioned village; they put them in the church and are initiating them according to their vain rites'.⁴³ I have commanded that when my noble command arrives you are to investigate, and if the matter is proven to be as has been submitted, you are to seize these boys and the infidels who led them astray and send them all to my exalted court, taking care that they do not abscond. Thus you are to know. 972 (1564/5).

6 The recovery of a captured novice

Command to the *beglerbegi* of the Archipelago:⁴⁴

The *ağa* of the Janissaries has sent a memorandum [stating the following]: 'The *'acemī-oğlan* named Hızır, whom 'Alī, the *ağa* of Anaṭolı collected (*devşir-*) to be a Janissary boy in the year 977 (1569/70) from the village named Mecne in the *każā* of Lemnos, and whose name before he became a Muslim was Sotiri, his father's name being Yorgi (tall, fair, blue-eyed, brown eyebrows, scar over his right eyebrow, moles on his right ear and his right hand, at present about seventeen), and who was earlier taken prisoner by the infidels in the battle of the Imperial Fleet,⁴⁵ has been found at the oar in the infidel ship which the *beg* of Rhodes captured; he is Greek by birth, and is still only learning Turkish . . .'

SECTION 2 PROMOTION TO THE SULTAN'S SERVICE

The destiny of most of the *devşirme* recruits, or *'acemī oğlans* ('foreign boys'), was to serve in the Janissary Corps or other military units, as shown in passage 1. The first stage in their training was to serve as labourers for Turkish farmers in Anatolia, where they learned Turkish and the rudiments of Islam (see passage 2) and became accustomed to hardship. The second stage was to learn a craft (such as gardening, as in passage

³⁹ Present day Kozan, near Adana. Sīs was the seat of an Armenian Catholicos.

⁴⁰ *'Acemī oğlan*: a boy levied through the *pencik* (q. v.) or the *devşirme* (q. v.), in training before his admission to palace service or the Janissary corps.

⁴¹ The change of clothes signified conversion to Islam.

⁴² *Dhimmī*: a Christian or Jewish subject of a Muslim sovereign. In this case the *dhimmīs* are Armenians.

⁴³ That is, baptism.

⁴⁴ The Grand Admiral. The admiral was *beglerbegi* of the province of the Archipelago, consisting of the Greek islands and the *sancaqs* adjoining the coasts of Greece and Anatolia.

⁴⁵ The battle of Lepanto, 7 October 1571.

2), serving on building projects (see passages 3 and 4), in the naval arsenals or other enterprises, acquiring skills which could be useful in a military context. It was after this period that they graduated – ‘went out to the Porte’, as passages 3, 4 and 5 call it – to serve the sultan in the Janissary Corps.

While anyone recruited into the sultan’s service either through the *devşirme* or as a prisoner-of-war had the status as a ‘slave’ (*kul*) or ‘slave of the Porte’ (*kapı kulu*), one group directly served the sultan in person. These were the lads who, after their arrival in Istanbul, were taken directly into the palace and trained in the palace schools. Upon graduation they served as officers and pages in the different departments of the palace and, as passage 5 shows, from a senior position could be ‘sent out’ as members of one of the six divisions of household cavalry, or to governorships or senior posts in the provinces.

The great majority of staff in the palace was non-Muslim in origin. That palace servants could make a good living regardless of their origins is clear from passage 6, a register detailing the pay of palace staff in 1478, the year when the New Palace – the present-day Topkapı Palace – was completed.

1 Command to the *ağa* of the Janissaries, 1562/3

Since Pīrī, the chief of the artillerymen at my exalted court, has reported that he needs artillerymen, having ordered that twenty-five ‘*acemī-oğlans*’ be given [to him] to be apprentices for the artillerymen, I have commanded that, in accordance with my order, you should nominate twenty-five ‘*acemī-oğlans*’ from those who are ‘with the Turks’ (*Türk üzerinde*) to become artillery apprentices, list them with their names, and deliver them to the aforementioned. 970 (1562/3).

2 Command to the *ağa* of the Janissaries, 1567/8

Since lads are needed for the garden of Edirne, having ordered thirty lads to be supplied from those who have really (*bi’l-fi’l*) embraced Islam, I have commanded that when [. . .] arrives you are to list thirty lads, capable of serving in the gardens, from those who have now embraced Islam. 975 (1567–8).

3 Command to the *ağa* of the Janissaries, 1560/1

Having ordered that twenty-three of the ‘*acemī-oğlans*’ serving on the aqueduct leading into Istanbul should ‘go out to the Porte’ (*kapıya çık-*) and having sent you the list of their names, I have commanded that when [. . .] arrives you should, in accordance with my noble order, ‘send out (*çıkar-*) to the Porte’ those named. 968 (1560/1)

4 Command to the *ağa* of the Janissaries, 1573/4

Since Sinān, the chief of my court architects, has sent a letter saying: ‘Of the ‘*acemī-oğlans*’ who are engaged in smith’s work on the noble mosque which is being built at Edirne,⁴⁶ seven,

⁴⁶ The Selimiye mosque.

who were working on the ironwork for the windows, have completed their service' and has requested that they should be 'sent out to the Porte.' Their names have been noted and a decree has been sent [to Sinān], and I have commanded that when [. . .] arrives you are to 'send out to the Porte' according to their *kānūn* the seven 'acemī-oğlans noted in the memorandum (*tezkiye*) sent [herewith] and cause [the transfer] to be noted in the register. 981 (1573/4)

5 Command to the *āga* of the Janissaries, 1583

Since at this present time, some of the Janissaries of my exalted court are at Demirçapu, and some are on the campaign in the East, and some are in Egypt, and some are serving with the fleet, and some are in the Bender area, and some are serving in garrisons at the frontiers, so that few Janissaries are left in attendance (*mülāzemet*) at my court of felicity, having ordered that 200 lads should 'go out to the Porte', I have commanded that when [. . .] arrives you are to 'send out (*ihrāc*) to the Porte', according to the traditional custom and *kānūn*, 200 from among the fit and senior and experienced 'acemī-oğlans and to send the register of them to the checking office (*muḳābele kalemi*). 991 (1583)

6 The pay of palace servants: an account register from 1478

Pay of those attached to the court, for Şafar and the two Rabī's of the year 883 (4 May–31 July 1478)⁴⁷

Section (*bölük*) of the [Privy] Chamber (*oda*):

Baḫşāyış	4	Maḫmūd	2	Iskender	2
Aḫmed	2	Ismā'īl	1	'Alī	1

[total] per day 12

Section of the Pantry: [4 names, at 1 or 2]

per day 6

Section of the Treasury: [3 names, at 1 or 2]

per day 5

Section of the Falconers of the *enderūn*:⁴⁸

The *āga*: 10 [and 8 names, at 1-7]

per day 38

Section of the *rikābīs*⁴⁹ under Ya'ḳūb Āga:

The *āga*: 50 [and 22 names, including 2 mutes, an *imām* and 2 *mū'ezzins* at 1-10]

per day 132

Group (*cemā'at*) of the *gulāms* of the *enderūn* who have been sent out (*ihrāc*): [9 names, at 1 or 5]

per day 18

Group of the *müteferriḳas*:⁵⁰

Ḥasan Beg, *za'īm* of the *yürüks*⁵¹ 50

'Alī Beg, former head of the *rikābīs* 50

⁴⁷ Pay was distributed every three months.

⁴⁸ *Enderūn*: the Inner Palace, the sultan's private residence.

⁴⁹ *Rikābī* (*rikāb* is Arabic for 'stirrup'): an officer of the palace entitled to accompany the sultan when he was on horseback.

⁵⁰ *Müteferriḳa* (Arabic: 'miscellaneous') A miscellaneous group of palace servants, entitled to escort the sultan on horseback.

⁵¹ *Yürüks*: semi-nomadic Turkish tribesmen in Anatolia and the Balkans. Groups of *yürüks* provided auxiliary military services.

Sinān Beg, former head of the Tasters	47	
[etc: 65 names, from 50 down to 3, among them a lutist, a <i>nedīm</i> , ⁵² an astrologer, and several pensioners]		per day 551
Section of the gardeners: [3 names, at ½ to 5]		per day 8½
Group of the <i>sipāhī-oğlans</i> ⁵³ under ‘Alī Beg:		
[71 names, from 18 to 5, beginning with <i>kethudā</i> at 17 and ending with a <i>kātib</i> at 10]		per day 654
Group of the <i>silihdārs</i> under Turğud Beg:		
[63 names, from 16 to 6]		per day 496
Group of the ‘ <i>ulūfecis</i> ’ under Aḥmed Beg:		
[53 names, from 7 to 1]		per day 250½
Group of the <i>ğarībs</i> under Mūsā Beg:		
[35 names, from 20 to 1, including six noted as ‘ <i>Ḳarāmānī</i> ’]		per day 236
Group of the door-keepers [50]		144
Group of the <i>çavuşes</i> under Süleymān Beg [7]		65
Group of the tent-pitchers under Ḥasan Beg [38]		100

[plus tasters 12 – per day 152; bakers 9 – per day 20; cooks 24 – per day 66; *solaks*⁵⁴ 20 – per day 63; keepers of hounds 15 – per day 58; houndsmen 12 – per day 29; tailors 23 – per day 86; armourers 13 – per day 67; falconers: keepers of peregrine falcons 33 – per day 85, keepers of goshawks 13 – per day 51, keepers of sparrowhawks 11 – per day 53; staff of the Imperial Stable: superintendent, clerk, deputy 3 – per day 44, saddlers 13 – per day 58, grooms 28 – per day 77, farriers, water carriers and coachmen 13 – per day 49, group of muleteers 16 – per day 51, group of donkeymen 2 – per day 8, group of keepers of female camels 22 – per day 68, keepers of male camels 18 – per day 56, group of keepers of breeding camels 11 – per day 28]

SECTION 3 *BERĀTS*

Any holder of public office in the Ottoman Empire occupied his position by virtue of a *berāt*. This was a warrant, issued in the sultan’s name and cast in the form of a decree addressed to the public at large, appointing the nominee to office and laying out the terms of service. Passage 1 below records the appointment of a preacher to the mosque of Murad I in Bursa; passage 2 the appointment of a governor-general (*beglerbegi*) of the province of Anaṭolī (western Anatolia); passage 3 the appointment of a *kādī*; passage 4 the appointment of a Greek Metropolitan; and passage 5 the confirmation of the appointment of guardians on a mountain-pass in Bulgaria.

⁵² *Nedīm*: a companion of the sultan.

⁵³ *Sipāhī-oğlans* (‘cavalry lads’), *silihdārs* (‘weapon-bearers’), ‘*ulūfecis*’ (‘salarymen’) ‘of the left’ and ‘of the right’, and *ğarībs* (‘strangers’) ‘of the left’ and ‘of the right’ made up the Six Divisions (*altı bölük*) of the household cavalry. The designations ‘of the left’ and ‘of the right’ indicate whether they rode on the left or right of the sultan in processions.

⁵⁴ *Şolaks*: the Janissaries serving as the personal bodyguard of the sultan.

1 The appointment of a preacher in Bursa

My command is this: to the bearer of the cipher (*tevķī*⁵⁵) of this mandate (*misāl*) . . . Ḥāccī Paşa Faķīh I have assigned the post of preacher (*ḥaṭīb*) of the mosque (*cāmi*) which my grandfather Ġāzī Ḥūdāvendġār⁵⁵ built in the town of Bursa, and I have commanded that he is to go there and recite the *ḥuṭbe*⁵⁶ every Friday and receive his stipend (*vazīfe*) from the *mütevelli*⁵⁷ according to the founder's stipulation, and he is to pray for the soul of the founder and for the continuance of my prosperity (*devām-i devlet*). Those who see my decree are to put their trust in it and not act counter to it. Written in the first decade of the month of *Dhū'l-Qa'da* 823 (November 1420), in the residence of Edirne.

2 The appointment of a *beglerbegi*

The reason for the writing of the mandate (*misāl*) . . . is this:

To every person who through his laudable character regards it as an obligation (*farz*) upon himself to expend the currency of his life, night and day, in rendering due service at the Porte of *pādişāhs*, divine inspiration binds mighty sultans to entrust affairs within their capabilities, and so to favour them that, while spending their time in the discharge of great duties, they may live in prosperous comfort.

Therefore, upon the *emīr* of my threshold, the bearer of the exalted cipher . . ., the *emīrū 'l-ümera*⁵⁸ . . . Īsā Beg . . . who has served uprightly at my court . . ., I have conferred (*taķlīd*) the duty of *beglerbegi* of Anaṭolī, regarding him as fit to hold it, as *Ķaraca Beg*⁵⁹ did hitherto, so that from today it is to be under his authority (*yed*) and he is to exercise (*muta-şarraf*) it. No-one is to object or interfere. The *sancaķbegis*, *kāđīs*, *subaşıs*, *nā'ibs*, *sipāhīs*, *kethūdās*, dignitaries (*a'yān*) and *re'āyā* and the other inhabitants [of Anaṭolī], low and high, are to recognise him as their magistrate and governor (*ḥākim ve vālī*), to present themselves at the place which he orders and to show no remissness in paying him all possible honour . . . And in all *umūr-i dīvānīye*⁶⁰ and matters (*każāyā*) which pertain to the office of *beglerbegi* they are to have recourse to him; they are not to act counter to his orders and prohibitions. He is to apply himself duly to carrying out (?) administrative matters (*umūr-i siyāset*)⁶¹ and sultanic commands (*aḥkām*) . . . In making decisions (*faşl-i ḥukümet*) and resolving dissensions (*kaṭ' -i ḥuşümet*) he is not to discriminate between strong and weak, noble and base. He is always to care for the oppressed and put down the evil of the oppressors, so acting that the land be prosperous . . . and no-one suffers injustice. Wherever he learns that there are rebels (*bāġī*) and criminals (*ḥarāmī*) and [fomenters of] sedition (*fesād*), he is to put them down and seize them, so that the people are well-guarded and preserved from pillage and the fear of enemies and may be assiduous in prayer for the continuance of the victorious state (*devlet-i kāhire*). Whenever the occasion arises, he is to present himself with the troops of Anaṭolī . . . and fulfil

⁵⁵ Murād I (1362–89).

⁵⁶ *Ḥuṭbe*: the sermon delivered during the Friday prayer, which includes a prayer for the ruler.

⁵⁷ *Mütevelli*: the administrator of a *waqf*. See Chapter IX.

⁵⁸ *Emīrū 'l-ümera* (Arabic: 'commander of commanders'): *beglerbegi*.

⁵⁹ *Ķaraca Beg* lost his life at the battle of Varna in 1444.

⁶⁰ Matters falling outside the scope of the *sharī'a* that would come before the *beglerbegi* rather than the *kāđī*.

⁶¹ *Siyāset* sometimes has the sense of 'capital punishment', suggesting that the sultan is conferring the power to impose the death penalty.

his due service in my victorious army. Whatever domains (*havāṣṣ*) and other [. . .] perquisites (*mütevcehāt*) *Ḳaraca Beg* enjoyed hitherto, he is to enjoy the same. Those who see this are to put their confidence in the world-conquering sign.⁶² Written on 7 Rajab 855 (5 August 1451), in the residence of Edirne.

3 The appointment of a *kādī*

The command . . . is this:

Inasmuch as . . . the *kādīs* and magistrates are the reason for the strengthening of the divine laws and the cause for the well-being of human affairs and the means for promoting good order, to the bearer of this exalted cipher . . . *Mevlānā Bedreddīn* . . . I have entrusted and conferred and given, on 15 *Dhū'l-Hijja* 952 (17 February 1546) the *kādī*ship of *Budin*,⁶³ which with its dependencies is written in the sultanic register at 130 *aḳçe* a day, and I have commanded that he is to go and be *kādī* and magistrate in that *kaṣā*. Holding fast to the implementation of the commands of the *sharī'a* . . . he is not to diverge from its straight path. In questions that arise he is to investigate the various dicta of the *Ḥanafī imāms* and find the most valid course and act upon it. He is to deal with the writing of *sicill*-entries and legal documents (*ṣukūk*), the giving in marriage of young boys and girls, the contracting of marriages, the implementation of testaments, the division of the estates of the *re'āyā*,⁶⁴ the custody of the goods of orphans and of missing persons, the dismissal and appointment of guardians and *nā'ibs*, and all other *ṣer'ī*⁶⁵ affairs . . . All the people of that region are to recognise him as their *kādī* and his judgment as effective, and in all *ṣer'ī* affairs they are to have recourse to him and not diverge from his orders (*emr*). If he fulfils this duty in lawful fashion, he is to have the use (*mutaṣarrıf*) of whatever the former *kādīs* had, and he is to occupy himself with prayer for the continuance of my prosperity . . . Thus they are to know . . . Written in the first decade of *Rabī'ü'l-awwal* 953 (May 1546)

4 The appointment of a metropolitan

The command . . . is this:

The bearer of the noble mandate, the priest . . ., having paid to my imperial treasury a gift (*pīṣkeṣ*) of . . . ducats, I have given him the metropolitanate of . . . and I have commanded that as from today he is to be metropolitan there, and in accordance with 'leave them to practice what they profess', he may carry out all their rites and ceremonies: and [he is to exercise his office] in the same fashion as former metropolitans exercised it over the priests and monks and other Christians of that district, and he is to have the use of whatever churches and vineyards and orchards and fields [his predecessors] had. Like the former metropolitans, he is to be exempt from courier[-corvée] (*ulaḳ*) and *cerehor*⁶⁶ and poll-tax (*ḥarāc*) and other impositions (*'avāriṣ ve tekālīf-i dīvāni*). The priests and monks and other Christians of that place are to

⁶² A reference to the *tuğra*.

⁶³ *Buda*.

⁶⁴ It was a duty of the *kādī* to oversee the division of the inheritances of the *re'āyā*, the term here referring to all members of the tax-paying class. The inheritances of the *'askerī* (military) class came under a separate jurisdiction.

⁶⁵ *Ṣer'ī*: relating to the *sharī'a*.

⁶⁶ Labour service in support of the army.

recognise him as metropolitan over them and to have recourse to him in matters pertaining to the office of metropolitan. (Late fifteenth century)

5 The appointment of mountain guards

The command . . . is this:

Heretofore my late father, to ensure the guarding of the pass on the road which goes to Puranlu, a dependency of Menlik in Kostandin-ili,⁶⁷ gave to twenty infidels⁶⁸ a command that they should guard it night and day. Now they have brought it and submitted it, and I for my part have accepted it⁶⁹ and have given them this noble command, and I have commanded that the twenty infidels are to go and guard that pass, as they have done before, by night and day against thieves and bandits. When they find a wrongdoer or a bandit they are to seize and bind him and inform my Porte. They are so to exert themselves that there shall at that pass be no loss or damage to anyone's life or limb, Muslim or *dhimmī*; if there is, they are to bear the *ġarāmet*⁷⁰ for it. After these twenty infidels guard that pass as set out, they are to be secure (*emīn*) from *ḥarāc* and *ispence*⁷¹ and sheep-tax (*'ādet*) and billeting (*ḳonak*) and fortress-building and courier[-corvée] and forced labour (*suḥra*); no-one is to take food and fodder from them by force, but buy it for cash. Thus they are to know . . . Written on 11 Jumādā II 860 (17 May 1456), in the camp at Sofia.⁷²

SOURCES

Section 1

- 1 İbrahim Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devleti Teşkilâtından Kapukulu Ocakları*, Ankara (1943), 1, 87–9; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, 'En marge d'un acte concernant le penġyek et les aqinġi', *Revue des Études Islamiques*, XXXVII/1 (1969), 45–7.
- 2 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1, 89.
- 3 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1, 92–4; Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanûnâmeleri*, 2, Istanbul (1990), 123–5.
- 4 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1, 27–8.
- 5 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1, 126.
- 6 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1, 23n; remainder of the text and its date not quoted.

Section 2

- 1 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1, 115–16.
- 2 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1, 116.
- 3 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1, 132.
- 4 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1, 134.

⁶⁷ Modern Kyustendil, Bulgaria.

⁶⁸ Probably the local bandits [VLM].

⁶⁹ The *berāt* is valid for the sultan's lifetime only

⁷⁰ The payment due as compensation for homicide, injury to the person or loss of property.

⁷¹ *İspence*: a poll-tax levied on non-Muslims, in lieu of *çift*-tax on their tenements.

⁷² The document was issued at Sofia in 1456, when the sultan was on his way to besiege Belgrade, in response to a petition presented to him in the army camp.

- 5 Uzunçarşılı, *Kapukulu Ocakları*, 1, 135.
- 6 Ahmed Refik, 'Fâtih devrine 'â'id vesikalar', *Ta'rih-i 'Osmâni Encümeni Mecmû'ası*, 26–49 (1335–7/1916–8), 5–23.

Section 3

- 1 Feridun Beg, *Münşe'âtü's-selâtin*, Istanbul (1274/1857), 1, 166.
- 2 Feridun Beg, *Münşe'âtü's-selâtin*, Istanbul, 1, 269. The date of this document is incorrect. See Halil İncalcık, *Fatih Devri üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, Ankara (1954), 77n.
- 3 İbrahim Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı Devletinin İlmîye Teşkilatı*, Ankara (1965), 92–3.
- 4 Robert Anhegger and Halil İncalcık, *Kanunname-i Sultani ber Muceb-i Örf-i Osmani*, Ankara (1956), 65; Ahmed Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanunnameleri*, 1, Istanbul (1990), 407; French translation: Nicoara Beldiceanu, *Les Actes des Premiers Sultan*, Paris, The Hague (1960), 137.
- 5 Halil İncalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, Ankara (1954), Document X.



Plate 1 The grand vizier (JRL1118969)

Moffhi ...
... ..

20



Plate 2 The şeyhü'l-islâm (JRL1118965)



Plate 3 An *içoglan*, a page of the inner palace (JRL1118972)



Plate 4 A *hâşşeki*, an officer of the palace, holding the sultan's parasol (JRL111973)



Plate 5 The *re'sü'l-küttâb*, the chief clerk to the *dīvân* (JRL1118974)



Plate 6 A *tülbenddār*, maker and keeper of the sultan's turbans (JRL1118975)



Plate 7 A *silihdār* and a *çokadār* on horseback (JRL1118978)

Samlonji köylüğü

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Plate 8 A *samsoncu*, a keeper of the sultan's mastiffs (JRL1119045)

The Vizierate and the *Dīvān*

The *dīvān-i hümāyūn* ('Imperial Council') was the senior executive and judicial body in the Ottoman Empire, meeting in the second court of the palace under the presidency of the grand vizier, as described in passages 1 and 2. Its membership represented the four branches of government. The viziers, who would normally reach their position after serving as provincial governors, as seen in passage 1, represented the political-military establishment. The *ḳāḏī*'askers of Rūmeli and Anaṭoli were the senior *ḳāḏīs* of the empire, responsible for judicial affairs in the European and Asiatic provinces, respectively. The *defterdārs* were responsible for financial affairs, and the *niṣāncı* for the scribal service. Apart from its executive function, the *dīvān* acted as a court, hearing petitions from members of the public, either in person or by proxy (see passage 2) and, from the reign of Bāyezīd II (r. 1481–1512) onwards, also cases involving members of the military ('*askerī*') class. Until the last decades of the sixteenth century, either the grand vizier or the *dīvān* collectively reported on the day's deliberations to the sultan: all decrees or other documents emanating from the *dīvān* were issued in the sultan's name. From the late sixteenth century on, it seems to have become more common for the grand vizier to make submissions in writing and to receive the sultan's written reply, as can be observed in passages 3a–f. Passages 1, 4 and 5 demonstrate that, while the grand vizier held the highest political office after the sultan himself, his appointment, dismissal and, at times, execution was entirely at the discretion of the sultan, who could be guided in his decision by his family or courtiers of the inner palace (see passage 5).

1 The *Āṣaf-nāme* of Luṭfī Paşa¹

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate.

Laud and praise that matchless Provider who has no like or peer, and who is a sultan without a vizier; and prayers and salutations upon that leader of the Prophets and commander of the pure, who is the bringer of good tidings and the warner; and also upon his family and his companions, each of whom was a prudent manager for the promotion of the Faith. May the

¹ Luṭfī Paşa wrote his *Āṣafnāme*, a book of advice for grand viziers, in retirement after his dismissal from the vizierate in 1541. VLM used to describe Luṭfī Paşa as a 'well-meaning but thick Albanian'.

commendation of God be upon him and his family and his companions so long as the heavens and the earths endure. Thereafter:

The author of this treatise, the weakest of God's servants, Luṭfî Paşa b. 'Abdu'l-Mu'īn² was brought up, enjoying the sultan's bounty, in the private apartments (*harem-i hāṣṣ*) from the reign of the late Sultan Bāyezīd Hān as a devoted servant of this Ottoman Porte: and while in the private apartments I studied various branches of learning. Upon the accession of Sultan Selīm Hān, being then *çokadār*, I 'went out' [from the palace] to the post of *müteferrika*³ at 50 *akçe* [per day]. I was then granted [in succession] the posts of *çāšnigīr-başı*, *kapucı-başı*, *mīr-'alem*, *sancaḳbegi* of Kaṣtamoni, *beglerbegi* of Karaman, [*beglerbegi* of Anaṭolı,] and vizier.⁴ After 'going out', this humble creature, full of faults, consorted with numerous 'ulemā and poets and men of culture, and so far as I could I improved myself through the study of the various branches of learning.

When our present *pādiṣāh* Sultan Süleymān Hān – the greatest of the sultans and the most noble of the *hākāns*, the aider of the servants of God and the protector of God's domains, the fighter along the path of God, the servitor of the Two Noble Sanctuaries,⁵ the ruler of the two lands and the two seas (may God prolong his glory!) commanded that I should assume the post of grand vizier,⁶ I found various procedures and principles and *kānūns* of the imperial *dīvān* to be at variance with what I had observed earlier and to be in disorder. Therefore, as a memento to my brethren who will assume the duty of the grand vizierate, I have composed this treatise, inserting in it the proper procedures relating to the grand vizierate and the main points necessary to that post, and I have entitled it 'The *Āṣafnāme*',⁷ so that when it is seen by my brethren who receive the favour of appointment to the vizierate they may utter a prayer for me. I have arranged it in four chapters . . .

When I came to the post of vizier, I had found the affairs of the exalted *dīvān* in considerable confusion. Over seven years [1534(?)–41], by prudent management, I set them in order so far as was possible. Then various self-interested double-dealers 'in whose hearts there is a disease'⁸ slandered me to the felicitous *pādiṣāh*. To avoid being subjected to women in respect of various matters relating to my private life (*harem*) and to make myself secure from their wiles, [I considered it better to renounce] the grand vizierate. So I gave it up and went to my estate (*çiftlik*) at Edirne, and there in the nook of seclusion I devoted myself with peace of mind to prayer to the Glorious God. I realised that the prosperity of this transient world rapidly declines and easily departs. It is better for the wise man, not being heedless, to find tranquillity in the corner of abnegation and in the contemplation of gardens and meadows. It is God

² The patronymic 'Abdu'l-Mu'īn, like 'Abdu'llah, shows that Luṭfî Paşa was of non-Muslim descent.

³ *Müteferrika* (Arabic: 'miscellaneous'): A miscellaneous group of palace servants, entitled to escort the sultan on horseback.

⁴ While omitting all details of his Albanian background, Luṭfî Paşa lists the posts which he occupied during his ascent to the vizierate. In the inner palace, he served in the sultan's privy chamber and as 'keeper of linen' (*çokadar*). On the accession of Selīm I in 1512, he graduated to service in the outer palace, as *müteferrika*, head taster (*çāšnigīr başı*), head gatekeeper (*kapucı başı*) and keeper of the sultan's standards (*mīr-'alem*). From service in the palace, he graduated to posts in the provinces as *sancaḳ*-governor (*sancaḳbegi*) and governor-general (*beglerbegi*). He was appointed third vizier in c1536, second vizier in 1538 and grand vizier in July 1539. He was dismissed in May 1541. He married the sultan's sister Şāh Sultān, and it was reportedly a violent quarrel with his wife that led to his dismissal. According to contemporary gossip, she objected to his sleeping with boys.

⁵ Mecca and Medina.

⁶ In July 1539.

⁷ The book of *Āṣaf*. *Āṣaf* was the legendary vizier of King Solomon.

⁸ Qur'an 2:10.

to whom we turn for help and in whom we trust. May God, Glorious and Exalted, protect the practices and procedures of the Ottoman House from the fears and dangers of the time and from the malevolent eye of enemies. Amen.

Chapter One sets out what the moral qualities and rules of conduct of the grand vizier should be, and how he should behave in his dealings with the *pādiṣāh*.

Firstly, the grand vizier should be free of personal ambition, dealing with every matter [solely] for the sake of God's service, for there is no further office higher than his to which he may attain, and he should speak the truth to the *pādiṣāh* without embarrassment, calling the dignitaries to testify to God [that he has done so(?)].

The confidential matters which he transacts with the *pādiṣāh* should be kept secret, not merely from outsiders but even from the other viziers. Once, in the reign of the late Sultan Selīm (who was the most eminent of the sultans in justice and martial valour, in talent and generosity, the tiger who with head uplifted paced the arena of the sultanate) the late Pīrī Paşa, who had been granted the grand vizierate by the sultan because of his confidence in his intellect and his grasp of affairs while serving as *defterdār*,⁹ went to see the *pādiṣāh* during the afternoon to consult over a certain confidential matter: and on that felicitous occasion he and the *pādiṣāh* had long discussions. In the *dīvān* [the next day] the vizier Mesīḥ Paşa asked: 'What did you discuss yesterday?' In consequence Pīrī Paşa made a recommendation (*telḥīs*) that he should be disgraced and dismissed: but with difficulty, and thanks to the intercession of several people, he was saved.¹⁰

The *pādiṣāh* should not mix overmuch with favourites (*nedīm*). True, monarchs must always have favourites and companions, but the favourite and the companion, although he is granted largesse and honorific robes, should not interfere in public affairs.

The grand vizier should ensure that the *pādiṣāh* sees most of his submissions ('*arż*) and not let him conceal himself behind the veil of seclusion; and matters on which the grand vizier has made submissions to the *pādiṣāh* should not be altered.

The grand vizier should, in the privacy of the night, enquire from his intimates, men free of ambition, about poor and weak men who are deserving of office and grant them office and set them on their feet; for a vizier is like a prudent physician and should help men lacking strength to recover from the disease of poverty and indigence. As a man possessing the ability to do so, he should be apt at offering employment, [in peacetime and] in time of war.

A vizier should not grant *ze 'āmet*¹¹ to his own dependants (*tevābi*) but should satisfy them by granting them *tīmārs*;¹² and if he does grant *tīmārs*, they should be few; and he should not combine two or three *kılıçes*,¹³ unless they are on the *ḥāṣṣ*[-estates]¹⁴ of a *defterdār* or a *nişāncı*.¹⁵

⁹ *Defterdār* ('book-keeper'): controller of finance.

¹⁰ Pīrī Pasha was Grand Vizier from 1517 to 1523 and served as *defterdār* from late in the reign of Bāyezīd II (1481–1512). The vizier Mesīḥ Paşa died in 1501. The incident described cannot therefore have occurred between these two men.

¹¹ *Ze 'āmet*: a fief worth more than 20,000 *aḳçe* per year.

¹² *Tīmār*: a fief worth between 2,000 and 20,000 *aḳçe* per year.

¹³ *Kılıç* ('sword'): the indivisible core of a *tīmār*. In this passage, Luṭfī Paşa warns that grand viziers should themselves support their own followers and dependants, or at least not give them large fiefs. Nor should they dodge the restriction by combining lower value fiefs into a single unit, as this would reduce the number of troops available for military service.

¹⁴ *Ḥāṣṣ*: a fief worth more than 100,000 *aḳçe* per year.

¹⁵ *Nişāncı* ('chancellor'), the officer responsible for overseeing the production of documents issued in the sultan's name.

He should not issue firmans for couriers (*ulaḳ*) on any trivial pretext. There is in the Ottoman territories no burden so inequitable as the courier. Courier-orders should be issued only in matters of the first importance when there is the risk of harm in state affairs; they are not justified in trivial matters. During my vizierate, in order to liberate the helpless subjects from this, I stationed post-horses at various points.¹⁶

The vizier should restrain the *pādiṣāh* from the inclination to amass wealth and from falling into sin through the desire for wealth. Whenever money fell in [the Treasury] as *beytü 'l-māl*,¹⁷ I caused it to be held in trust at the Porte until the heirs should present themselves, and our just Sultan Süleymān Ḥān commanded that it should be held in trust at the Porte for seven years and, if within seven years no heir came to light, either by report or otherwise, [only then] should it be credited to the treasury (*hazīne*); for if the money (*māl*) of the people is made to accrue without [proper] cause to the money of the *pādiṣāh*, this is an indication that the state is approaching dissolution.

The grand vizier should exert himself to see appointed efficient and strict persons as *aḡa* over the Janissaries (*kuḷ ṭā 'ifesi*) and men of intellect with a grasp of affairs as their secretary (*kātib*). So long as the Janissaries are not under discipline (*mazbūt*), the grand vizier can have no peace of mind.¹⁸

The grand vizier should without hesitation report to the *pādiṣāh* whatever is necessary relating to the affairs of religion and state (*dīn ü devlet*). He should not feel over-apprehensive of being dismissed: it is better to enjoy good repute among the people through being dismissed than to carry out an inequitable policy.

The grand vizier should perform the five daily prayers in company (*cemā'at*) in his residence; and his door should be open so that access to him is easy. He should, without compromising his honour, strive to conciliate people so far as possible. He should beware of releasing, in return for gifts, any wrongdoers and criminals who are discovered. To officers of the state (*aṣḥāb-i devlet*) bribery (*rüşvet*) is a disease that admits of no cure – except that it is admissible to accept gifts from one's friends, or from those who customarily offer gifts, or from people of means who do not stand in need [of any recompense]. Beyond that, beware, beware of bribery! God preserve us from it!

The grand vizier has a *hāṣṣ* to the [nominal] value of 1,200,000 *aḳçe*. If the *hāṣṣ* produces [in fact] one and a half [times] its book value (*yazu*), [the revenue] approaches two million. If there comes in a further two or three hundred thousand in the form of precious stuffs and horses¹⁹ from the *emīrs* of the Kurds and [other] powerful *emīrs* round about, the total must come to 2,400,000 *aḳçe*. Praise be to God the Exalted, in the Ottoman state this recompense is sufficient – anyway, I used to lay out 1,500,000 *aḳçe* per year on the expenses of my kitchen and my retinue (*kuḷ*) and 500,000 *aḳçe* on alms (*taṣaddukāt*), so that four or five hundred thousand remained in my treasury. A considerable sum [too] had been saved up from booty won on campaigns (*ḡazā*) and from tithes and taxes (*a 'ṣar ve rūsūm*) regarded as licit (*helāl*) which had accrued to me in the posts of *beglerbegi* which I had held: this I expended on alms and good works (*ḡasenāt*). 'Praise be to God Who has been bountiful to us and favoured us.'

¹⁶ On couriers, see Colin Heywood, 'The evolution of the courier order (*ulaḳ ḥükmi*) in Ottoman chancery practice', in J. Zimmermann, C. Herzog, R. Motika, *Osmanische Welten: Quellen und Fallstudien. Festschrift für Michael Ursinus*, Bamberg (2016), 269–312.

¹⁷ *Beytü 'l-māl* ('treasury'): money or goods coming to the treasury when there are no apparent heirs.

¹⁸ Janissary rebellions and mutinies were as much a threat to the sultan as they were to the grand vizier.

¹⁹ Presumably as gifts and perquisites.

Greed is a base course to follow, with no limit to it, whereas contentment is a treasure that does not waste away, with many benefits in it.

The grand vizier should spend his time on state affairs (*mühimmāt-i saltanat*). It is not fitting that he should devote his attention to debauchery or musical parties or merrymaking. After he has attained that post, what is fitting is quietude and piety. He should exert himself to reforming his own character and to putting the world to rights so far as is possible.

The grand vizier should, by the favour and attentions he shows them, bring before the public eye office-holders who are members of the *dīvān* and learned members of the *'ulemā* and thus win their support. No-one but him should sentence office-holders and members of the *dīvān*. The *müderrişes*²⁰ and the [other] members of the *'ulemā* class (*tā'ife*) are all jealous of one another, [so] he should not believe what they say about one another but should consult with those who are the heads (*re'īs*) of the *'ulemā* and make investigations and take soundings over [appointments to] posts among the *'ulemā*. As for posts in the bureaucracy (*manāşib-i küttāb*) – whether it concerns the *rūznāme*²¹ [department] or the *muḳābele*²² [department] or any other – he should be careful not to let them fall to incompetents (*nā-ehl*) knowing nothing of office-management (*aḥvāl-i kalem*).

The grand vizier should on two days a week have a meal specially prepared for the sake of the noble soul of the Prophet . . . and invite [to it] many people from among the pious and the wise, and by that means inform himself of numerous matters [by learning] from various wise men – this, at least, is what I did during my grand vizierate.

The grand vizier should know the precedence of the office-holders when they attend to him, understanding each one's rank. Firstly, *beglerbegis* are below viziers – nobody takes precedence over them. *Defterdārs* of the finances (*māl defterdārları*) take precedence over *sancaḳbegis* and *ağas* of the stirrup. The head of the *ağas* of the stirrup is the *ağa* of the Janissaries; then comes the *mīr-'alem*, then the *ḳapucı-başı*, then the *mīr-aḥur*,²³ then the *ḳaçırcı-başı*²⁴ and the *ḳāşnigīr-başı* and the *ağas* of the *bölüks*.²⁵ The *defterdārs* take precedence over the *nişāncı*, unless the *nişāncı* is a former *defterdār*. The *defterdārs* of the finances and the *nişāncı* rank with the *ḳādīs* of the capitals (*taḥt ḳādīleri*),²⁶ taking precedence over all *müderrişes*, both 'of fifty' and 'of sixty'.²⁷ The chief *defterdār* ranks with the *ḳādīs* of the Three Towns.²⁸ The *keḥūdā*²⁹ of the *defterdār* takes precedence over a *müteferriḳa* and a *ḳāşnigīr: müderrişes* of the Şahñ³⁰ take precedence over him. One day during the reign of the late sultan Selīm Ḥāñ the *çavuşes*³¹ and the *kātibs*³² were disputing [this question]. When it was submitted [for decision] to the sultan, he ruled: 'The *kātib* should be given precedence,

²⁰ *Müderriş*: a teacher in a *medrese*.

²¹ *Rūznāme* ('day-book'): The office maintaining a daily account of the income and expenditure of the treasury.

²² *Muḳābele*: ('collating'): The office checking payments and grants against centrally held registers.

²³ *Mīr-aḥur*: master of the sultan's stables.

²⁴ *Çaçırcı-başı*: head falconer.

²⁵ The six divisions (*altı bölük*) of household cavalry.

²⁶ The *ḳādīs* of Istanbul, Bursa and Edirne.

²⁷ The reference is to the daily income of the *müderrişes* in *aḳçe*. This determined their status.

²⁸ The *ḳādīs* of Istanbul, Üsküdar and Eyüp.

²⁹ *Keḥūdā*: deputy.

³⁰ *Şahñ* (Arabic: 'courtyard'): abbreviation of Şahñ-i Şemāñ ('the court of eight'), the eight *medreses* adjoining the Mosque of Mehmed II in Istanbul, which at this time were the superior *medreses* in the Ottoman Empire.

³¹ *Çavuş*: ('herald, marshal') one of a corps within the palace, responsible for ceremonial, conveying ambassadors, carrying orders and messages, and – occasionally – carrying out executions.

³² *Kātib*: scribe, secretary.

for the *kātib*'s service concerns the secret affairs of the state, but that of the *çavuş* concerns affairs which are public'. Among the *kātibs*, the highest-ranking are the *kātib* of the Janissaries and the *rūznāmeçi*.³³ The post of *müteferrika* with stipend should not be given to a man from outside [the Palace service] unless he has 'gone out' from the *harem-i hāşş*³⁴ or is the son of a *beglerbegi* or of a *defterdār*.

A man who does not have a *ze'āmet* of 80,000 *aķçe* is not eligible for a *sancaķ*. The upper limit (*nihāyet*) of a *sancaķ* is 400,000 *aķçe*. If a *defterdār* of the finances goes out to a *sancaķ*, he is appointed at 400,000 *aķçe*, while an *aķa* of the stirrup is appointed at 350,000. It is the *kānūn* that viziers should rise to their feet for a *za'im*.³⁵ The upper limit of a *ze'āmet* to which a *kātib* is appointed is some 50,000 *aķçe*, and for a *çavuş* some 40,000. It is permissible to conflate [holdings], but too much conflation leads to a shortage of *kılıç*[-holdings], so one should be wary of conflating.

The grand vizier should say, in most of his interviews with the *pādişāh*: 'My *pādişāh*, I have removed the burden from my neck; I have spoken the truth of the matter; henceforth it is you that shall give answer on the Day of Recompense'.

He should be attentive to give hearing personally to complaints in the *dīvān*.

If an ambassador arrives from round about, guards should be set over him so that he does not learn too much of what is going on, and they should be ordered not to let him move around much.

The condition of the price-tariff (*narh*)³⁶ is a matter of the very greatest importance, and the grand vizier should be most attentive to it. It is not permissible that some officeholders should be rice-merchants or that the residences of others should be druggists' shops.³⁷ The price-tariff concerns the interests of the poor.

Officeholders should not be dismissed because of just one or two complainants. If there are on one or two occasions complaints against a *sancaķbegi* or a *kādī*, the grand vizier should send him a letter of advice and admonish him; but if he does not take heed from this and there are again complainants against him, then he should be dismissed.

The grand vizier should know people's capacities. He should know each man's capability, whether it consists in personal qualities or learning or service rendered [and for what office he is suited] and should make appointments accordingly.

He should stand firm on the matter of appointing as *sipāhī*³⁸ a man who belongs to the *re'āyā*³⁹ and is not the son and grandson of *sipāhīs*. Once that door is opened, perforce everyone will escape from the status of *ra'iyet* and become a *sipāhī*; and when there are no *ra'iyets* left, the *pādişāh*'s revenues will perforce be small.

It is God who knows best. 'Blessed is He in whose hand is the kingdom: and He has power over all things'.⁴⁰

³³ *Rūznāmeçi*: the official responsible for maintaining the *rūznāme*.

³⁴ The sultan's private apartments.

³⁵ The holder of a *ze'āmet*.

³⁶ *Narh*: the daily fixed price of goods in the market.

³⁷ That is, because they are speculating.

³⁸ *Sipāhī*: a cavalryman holding a *tīmār* in exchange for military service.

³⁹ *Re'āyā* (sing.: *ra'iyet*): the tax-paying, rural subjects of the sultan.

⁴⁰ Qur'ān, 67:1.

Chapter Two sets out the organization of military campaigns.

Firstly, in the areas where a campaign is necessary, one of the viziers or one of the *beglerbegis* must be appointed *serdār*,⁴¹ it is customary that in some areas a *sancaḳbegi* too should be *serdār*. One should arrange (*tedārük*) beforehand the amount of cash and provisions that are necessary for that campaign and [only] then set out.

If it is necessary that the *pādiṣāh* himself should set out, the grand vizier should convene the *defterdār[s]*⁴² and the other members of the *dīvān* and arrange how much cash is necessary and how many troops ('*asker*'), and where stocks of provisions should be deposited, and he should settle with the *mīr-aḥur*⁴³ the questions concerning the camels and mules and horses which the *pādiṣāh* will need, and he should also take along a carriage for the use of the *pādiṣāh*.

When camp is made, the grand vizier should encamp at some distance from the *pādiṣāh*. The *pādiṣāh* should encamp in the middle with the [palace] troops ('*asker*') encamped all around him and the ordinary soldiers (*ḥalḳ*) at a distance of about a mile from the tent (*ḥayme*) of the *pādiṣāh*. The treasury tent (*ḥazīne çadırı*) should be erected in front of the pavilion (*oṭaḳ*) of the *pādiṣāh*, and the *defterdār* should hold *dīvān* there. It is the *kānūn* that camels should be given to the viziers and the *kādī askers*⁴⁴ and the *niṣāncı* and the *defter emīni*,⁴⁵ so it is set down in the register for Sultan Selīm Ḥān's Çaldıran campaign.⁴⁶

On the march, the grand vizier should approach the sultan on horseback whenever he wishes, and other viziers and members (*erkān*) of the *dīvān* may approach when they are summoned, as may *sancaḳbegis* out of office.

Each night, one *sancaḳbegi* should perform picket-duty (*karavul*), and one *böliük ağası*⁴⁷ should stand guard before the [sultan's] tent (*oṭaḳ*). On one occasion during the reign of the late Sultan Selīm, on the way to the conquest of Diyārbekir, a number of scoundrelly spies, sent by Shāh Ismā'īl, had come up to before the [sultan's] tent with the intention of setting it on fire and then, when the *pādiṣāh* started up and came out, stabbing him with daggers. They were detected and punished; but since that time it has been commanded that one of the *ağas* of the *böliüks* should stand guard in turn.

The army should have an honest (*müstaḳīm*) commissary-general (*nüzl emīni*). The *kānūn* is that the *pādiṣāh* should present six days' provisions to the Janissaries and the *sipāhīs*: Sultan Selīm Ḥān provided this for three days on entering the frontier region (*serḥadd*) and for three days on leaving it.

If victory is won, the *pādiṣāh*'s hand is kissed as on feast-days ('*īd*'), and the viziers and the *kādī askers* and the *defterdārs* are vested with *kaftans*; officeholders in the provinces (*taşra*) too, both the *beglerbegis* and the *sancaḳbegis*, are vested with *kaftans*.

Kānūn concerning armed retainers (*cebelü*): a holder of a *tīmār* of 6,000 *aḳçe* provides two; of 10,000 *aḳçe*, three; a holder of a *ze'āmet* of 20,000 *aḳçe* provides four.

The holder of a *tīmār* must be present on a campaign in person, unless he is a young lad or is sick.

⁴¹ *Serdār*: 'commander'.

⁴² The manuscripts are at variance.

⁴³ *Mīr-aḥur*: master of the sultan's stables.

⁴⁴ *Kādī asker* ('military judge'): one of the two chief justices of the Ottoman Empire.

⁴⁵ *Defter emīni* ('superintendent of the register'): head of the office responsible for registers recording assignments of *tīmārs*, *ze'āmet*s and *ḥāşş*, and therefore of military obligations.

⁴⁶ The campaign of 1514 against the Safavid Shah Isma'īl I (1501–24).

⁴⁷ *Böliük ağası* ('commander of a division'): commander of one of the Six Divisions (*altı böliük*) of the household cavalry.

The cash taken on campaign [when] with the *pādiṣāh* should be doubled, for largesse (*baḥṣiṣ*) may be necessary.

Before one sets out, the frontiers should be entrusted to efficient governors and strengthened. Victories should be announced to the frontier regions.

As important as affairs by land are, maritime affairs are even more important. One day the late Sultan Selīm Ḥān – the noblest of the sultans in wisdom and percipience, in justice and generosity, the fortunate ruler who achieved the felicity of becoming Servitor of the Two Sanctuaries⁴⁸ and succeeded in becoming ‘Azīz-i Mıṣır⁴⁹ – said to the late Kemālpaşazāde:⁵⁰ ‘I wish to increase the Arsenal to 300 [berths], so that it reaches from the fortress of Galata as far as Kāgıdḥāne.⁵¹ My intention is to conquer the Franks’.⁵² The late *mollā* replied: ‘My *pādiṣāh*, you dwell in a city whose benefactor is the sea. If the sea is not secure, ships will not come; and if ships do not come, Istanbul cannot prosper’. The sun of the life of Sultan Selīm was then near to sinking, so that the plans in his noble mind were not carried through. But now our *pādiṣāh* Sultan Süleymān Ḥān, the just and generous, has also paid close attention to maritime affairs, and his attention and his supervising eye are directed to ensuring that our affairs at sea are well regulated and that the sea-going *gāzīs* are victorious over the infidel. Indeed, this humble individual was the reason that many governors were appointed over the sea⁵³ from among the independent *begs* and sea-captains.⁵⁴ I really made great exertions, thinking: ‘The sea is one wing of the Ottoman sultanate and state: let it receive due attention (*ma ‘mūr olsun*)’. This is the gist of the submission which I made to my *pādiṣāh* Sultan Süleymān Ḥān: ‘Among the sultans of the past there were many who ruled the land, but few who ruled the sea. In the organisation of naval campaigns, the infidels are superior to us. We must become victorious over them’. When I made this submission, he said: ‘What you say is true. So it must be’. And I caused an *emīn*⁵⁵ for naval expenses to be appointed by the *pādiṣāh*.

On the matter of campaigns, the upshot of my words and the pith of my remarks is this: both affairs relating to land and matters concerning the sea, and the good order and proper disposition of the viziers and the *emīrs* are occasions for the grand vizier to enjoy honourable renown and for men to utter his name with gratitude. He should exert himself to the degree that is necessary.

Chapter Three sets out the management of the treasury.

Firstly, the management of the treasury is a most important matter. The sultanate exists through the treasury, and the treasury through good management (*tedbīr*), not through oppression (*zulm*). When I became grand vizier I found the treasury in confusion and deficit. At the time of the accession of Sultan Süleymān Ḥān, income (*īrād*) had been equal to expenditure (*maşraf*). Income sometimes fell short, and then funds were provided from the old treasury

⁴⁸ Mecca and Medina.

⁴⁹ Ruler of Egypt. The term is derived from Qur’ān 12 and was sometimes used to denote the Mamlūk sultans. The reference is to Selīm I’s defeat of the Mamlūks in 1517, which gave him control of Egypt and the Hejaz, including Mecca and Medina.

⁵⁰ Kemālpaşazāde (1468–1536): an Ottoman scholar, jurist and statesman.

⁵¹ That is, Selīm intended the naval arsenal to stretch the entire length of the Golden Horn in Istanbul.

⁵² *İfrenç*: a literary term denoting the West or westerners. Selīm’s intention was probably the conquest of Rhodes.

⁵³ The reference is to the establishment of locally based naval flotillas in coastal districts.

⁵⁴ That is, corsairs.

⁵⁵ *Emīn*: superintendent.

outside [the palace]. But this procedure leads to disorder: income must *exceed* expenditure. I so managed affairs that no deficiency affected the institutions (*āyīn*) of the sultanate.

The grand vizier should first of all investigate each year the amount of the income and the expenditure and see that the income exceeds the expenditure. He should be on his guard against increasing the numbers of the Janissaries (*kul ta'ifesi*): troops should be few but good. All the nominal rolls (*defter*) of the troops should be kept in proper order; all the troops should be actually present; and their names should tally with those in the nominal rolls. Fifteen thousand stipendiary (*'ulūfeli*) troops represent a large force: to produce the pay for 15,000 men, year in and out, without falling short, is a heroic task. Whether it be the income of the treasury, or [allocations for] the pay of the troops (*kul*) or [for] supplies for the palace or for the kitchens or for the stables – [in each case income] should be sufficient [to cover expenditure] and indeed leave a small balance.

The grand vizier should introduce into the *dīvān* as *defterdārs* prudent and intelligent and serious-minded men who are experienced in the raising of revenue (*taḥṣīl-i emvāl*); he should give them liberty of action and entrust matters freely to their hands. But they, for their part, should not be carried away by their own notions or personal fancies but be most diligent in attending to the finances of the *pādiṣāh*. In the reign of our present *pādiṣāh*, Ibrāhīm Paşa⁵⁶ and Iskender Çelebi⁵⁷ were the most prominent men of the age through [the sultan's] favour and [bestowal of] titles: the *pādiṣāh* himself would visit their mansions and their pleasure-gardens, and they had become the cynosure of the eyes of the whole world. Finally, however, at the time of the conquest of Baghdad, both were exposed to [the sultan's] wrath, the one because of various imputations made when he became *serdār*, the other because of his deficiencies in his management of the [campaign-]treasury and of supplies.

In the management of the treasury, a particular effort should be made that increase of wages (*mevācib*) is not encouraged overmuch, and care should be shown in granting pensions (*tekā'ūd*). If a pension becomes necessary, then the rate has been for a *beglerbegi* 160 *aḳçe* [a day], for a *ḳādī'asker* 150, for a *defterdār* 80, for a *ḳādī* of a capital 80, for a vizier 250 or 200, and for a *sancaḳbegi* 70. If [such an officer] retires with a *ze'āmet*, then a grand vizier is granted one of [an annual revenue of] 200,000 *aḳçe*, a vizier one of 120,000, a *beglerbegi* one of 80,000, a *defterdār* one of 60,000 and a *sancaḳbegi* one of 50,000. These are given [only] to the deserving among them, who have rendered long service and are incapable of continuing.

It is preferable to allot *muḳāṭa'as*⁵⁸ by *emānet*⁵⁹ rather than by *iltizām*.⁶⁰ It is the *defterdār* who should recommend (*'arż*) [to the sultan the assignment of] *muḳāṭa'as* to fit persons.

The tribute (*ḥazīne*) of Egypt, which amounts to 150,000 gold pieces per annum, is reserved for the *pādiṣāh*, for his personal expenses.

To sum up, what I have to say regarding Treasury affairs is that the income and the expenditure should be checked every year and the appropriate action should be taken.

⁵⁶ Ibrahim Paşa, grand vizier from 1523 to 1536, executed after the 'campaign of the Two Iraqs' of 1533–6, against the Safavid Shah Tahmāsb (1524–76).

⁵⁷ Iskender Çelebi, *defterdār* from 1525 to 1534, executed in Baghdad in 1535, during the 'Campaign of the Two Iraqs'.

⁵⁸ *Muḳāṭa'a*: the exploitation of a source of revenue; a tax-farm.

⁵⁹ *Emānet*: management by a salaried treasury agent.

⁶⁰ *Iltizām*: management by a tax-farmer.

Chapter Four sets out matters pertaining to the *re 'āyā*.

Firstly, it is necessary that *eşkıncis*⁶¹ and *ellicis*⁶² and *aķıncis*⁶³ be [raised] from the *re 'āyā*, for although the Tatars [of the Crimea] owe allegiance to the Ottoman Porte, yet they are a refractory people, and it does not do to get them to serve on campaigns. The *aķıncis* have been designated foragers (*kara-kullukçı*) to the army for [obtaining] provisions.

The registers relating to the *re 'āyā* should be kept in the register-office (*defterhāne*) of the *dīvān*. A survey (*tahrīr*) should be made every thirty years: the dead and the incapacitated (*marīz*) should be struck out and a new register made. This should be compared with the old register, and the [numbers of the] *re 'āyā* [in the new one] should not fall short from [those in] the old register. If the *re 'āyā* of a district, fleeing from oppression, go to another district, the authorities (*hākim*) of that [second] district should send them back, so that the land (*memleket*) may not be left uncultivated.

The levying of *'avārīz*⁶⁴ from the *re 'āyā*, at the rate of 20 *aķçe* once every four or five years, has been introduced. This was collected once in the reign of Sultan Selīm Hān; thereafter it has been collected at the rate of 20 *aķçe* once every four or five years. It was envisaged as money paid in return for the tranquillity which the *re 'āyā* enjoyed, and for the provision of ship-biscuits to the warriors. But it is not a reasonable (*ma'kūl*) thing, and it should not be taken every year, so that it may not cause discontent.

It is the customary practice [to levy] oarsmen for the ships. Fit and young men are sent in the proportion of one oarsman to four households (*hāne*), and if they serve for some months, they are paid ten *aķçe* a day from the Treasury.

If one of the *re 'āyā*, having by outstanding service shown himself worthy of a *tīmār*, as a special mark of favour becomes a *sipāhī*, his relatives and his father and mother should not enjoy protection (*şıyānet*); or if [one of the *re 'āyā*] becomes a *dānişmend*,⁶⁵ he himself escapes from the statute of *ra'ıyet*, but his relations still remain *re 'āyā*.

As to the class of the noble *seyyids*⁶⁶ – that is, the pure Hāshimite line – many outsiders have entered it. A *naķībū's-sādāt*⁶⁷ has been appointed over them, and those persons who do not appear in their ancient registers, called the *şecere-i tayyibe*,⁶⁸ should be expelled.

The *re 'āyā* should not be given too much latitude. If one of the *re 'āyā* is wealthy, he should not be molested; but [at the same time] he should not be permitted to deck himself out like a *sipāhī* in his clothes and apparel, by riding a horse, by the style of his house, or by carrying fire-arms.

This humble creature, full of faults, wrote this treatise in accordance with what I saw and heard as the practice of the noble sultans of old, each of whom modelled himself in piety and justice upon the great *mujtahids*,⁶⁹ and in accordance with what I learned during my grand vizierate. It is the glorious and exalted God Who makes easy what is difficult and inspires men to [follow] the right course. May He lead each servant of His to the performance of good deeds and cause him to be remembered for his excellence of character.

⁶¹ *Eşkınci*: an auxiliary soldier.

⁶² *Ellici*: one of a group of peasants in the service of the military. The role of *ellicis* is unclear.

⁶³ *Aķıncı*: a raider based on the Ottoman frontier in Europe.

⁶⁴ *Avārīz*: an extra-ordinary tax, originally levied in times of war or emergency.

⁶⁵ *Dānişmend*: a student in a *medrese*.

⁶⁶ A descendant of the Prophet.

⁶⁷ *Naķībū's-sādāt*: 'chief of the *seyyids*'.

⁶⁸ *Şecere-i tayyibe*: 'the pure genealogy'.

⁶⁹ *Mujtahid*: an authoritative interpreter of Islamic law.

2 The *dīvān*: a Venetian account

In the second court of the palace there is a very beautiful *loggia*, with a portico before it, exactly like a chapter-house for monks, before which is their cloister. Here sit the four *paşas*⁷⁰ and the secretaries of the Grand Turk,⁷¹ the three *kādī* 'askers, the *beglerbegi* of Greece,⁷² which means the lord of the lords of Greece; it is his business to decide (*mozare*) and conclude matters relating to war; he gives tasks to the troops and increases and decreases their pay, and the Grand Turk together with the *paşas* ratifies it. There attends also Barbarossa, as *beglerbegi* of the Sea, that is, captain-general of the Sea.⁷³ Also present is Yünus Beg, the chief *dragomanno*, that is, interpreter, of the Signior,⁷⁴ a Greek from Modon, who has excellent Turkish, Greek and Italian . . .

The Grand Turk never takes part in this public audience, but he has a square window, covered with black silk hangings, which projects above the place where the *paşas* sit, where he can go, without being seen by anyone, by a certain covered passage. These lords of the audience do not know when the Signior is there or not, so that this doubt makes them all the more attentive in matters relating to justice. This audience is attended also by the *cancellieri*⁷⁵ and other noble Turks, and to it on the day appointed anyone, man or woman, of whatever nation, may enter. Those on horseback dismount at the second gate of the palace . . . Those on foot all enter as far as the *loggia* of audience; and if the Janissaries who stand on guard wish to obstruct them, they say 'maslahadumuar',⁷⁶ that is, 'I have business', and they are immediately permitted to enter . . .

[In the *dīvān*] people stand in the greatest silence, nor does anyone dare to make any sort of noise, for he would be immediately beaten, and at every audience someone is beaten, in the oddest fashion ever heard (as will be said later). The *paşas* hear first the most important cases (*cause*), and then all the others, of the poor as well as of the rich, so that no-one departs without being heard and having his case settled. Here they employ neither attorneys nor advocates, but each speaks to his affairs for himself as best he can, and anyone who lacks the language⁷⁷ makes use of the *dragomanno*, that is, the interpreter: there are a number of these paid by the Grand Turk. If anyone in advancing his case does not speak respectfully (*molestamente*) or utters any nonsense (*sciocchezza*), he is immediately sent away or beaten.

The *kādī* 'askers are the chiefs of the doctors of the law, and it is they who judge local cases and matters of conscience and all the appeals which come from the cities outside; for in every city and fortress, and also in the large towns, there is a *kādī*, and many people appeal from their verdicts (*sentenza*) to the court (*corte*) of Constantinople, where they are reviewed and settled by them, as will be explained more fully. Barbarossa too . . . when he is there hears matters concerning the sea . . .

The *paşas* rise from this audience or (as they call it) *dīvān* after midday in the summer and

⁷⁰ The viziers.

⁷¹ The sultan.

⁷² Rümeli. The *beglerbegi* of Rümeli was a member of the *dīvān* from 1535.

⁷³ Hayrū'd-Dīn Barbarossa (d. 1546) was appointed admiral, with the rank of *beglerbegi* in 1534. A new province – the Province of the Archipelago – comprising the islands of the Aegean and the *sancaqs* on the adjoining mainland was created for him.

⁷⁴ The sultan.

⁷⁵ The *defterdārs*.

⁷⁶ Turkish: 'maşlahatım var'.

⁷⁷ That is, Turkish.

in winter after the *ikindi*, that is, vespers. Before departing, they eat in this *loggia* three times, once in the morning at dawn, as soon as they arrive, again at the sixth hour, and the third time when they have finished giving audience . . . When they have finished eating and giving audience as has been said, they all go off to the Grand Turk, all the *paşas* and all the other lords of the audience, and they refer (*referiscono*) to him all that has been done, firstly the doctors of the law, the *kādī'askers*, the most highly honoured of whom speaks while the others keep silence. The chief secretary⁷⁸ has a list (*lista*) on which are the records (*memoriali*) of all the matters dealt with in the audience which need to be referred (*riferirle*) to the Grand Turk, and that memorandum (*nota*) which they make as a record is called 'arż. Then one of the four *paşas* reports, that is to say, the one who holds the seal of the Grand Turk⁷⁹ . . . The decisions (*risolutioni*) and permissions (*grazie*) are all made by the Grand Turk; they [the *paşas* and so on] merely recommend (*riferiscono*), as do the [Papal] *referendarii in signatura* in Rome, and relate the facts, and the Grand Turk decides (*fa la signatura*), in matters both civil and criminal. So too the *beglerbegi* of Grecia makes recommendation, since he of Anatolia remains for the most of the time at his post: but if he is in Constantinople, he too takes part and states his opinion on matters relating to war, together with the *ağa* of the Janissaries. Finally, when he is there, Barbarossa reports and states his opinion on naval expeditions: but he is not greatly esteemed in Constantinople: although the Grand Turk shows him great favour, because of the need he has of him, yet he does not trust him much, and this is made clear because the Grand Turk always wants to have with him Barbarossa's eldest son, both in time of war and all the time, holding him as it were as a hostage. He does the same with a son of the king of Lesser Tartary⁸⁰ and others of his vassals (*suditi*). He recently asked the King of France⁸¹ for a son (so it is said), as a guarantee for himself and in accordance with their custom, but the King, not wishing to give him one, courteously declined (*s'iscusò bellamente*).

3 Submissions to the sultan

3a Submission of the vizier Yemişçi Hasan Paşa⁸²

The 'arż of the powerless slave is this: Your Majesty, the principal prop of a campaign is gunpowder. Your Majesty knows that no campaign is possible without gunpowder, as has been many times reported ('arż) to the imperial stirrup. This year's gunpowder should have been provided last year, and next year's gunpowder should be provided this year. When last year I was at the Porte, the *sancağ* of Oltu⁸³ was granted on the condition of sending 700 *kañtār*⁸⁴ of gunpowder a year: and one person was appointed supervisor (*nāzır*) with the obligation to send 2,700 *kañtār* a year from Karamān. But now, while we were expecting that gunpowder would come from those areas, Hasan Paşa,⁸⁵ who is in command (*serdār*) against the *celālīs*,⁸⁶ has obstructed this and granted the *sancağ* and the post of *nāzır* to other people, so that not one

⁷⁸ The *re'isü'l-küttāb*, the chief clerk of the *dīvān*.

⁷⁹ The grand vizier. The seal was a symbol of office.

⁸⁰ The *hān* of the Crimea.

⁸¹ François I (r. 1515–47). François I and Süleymān I were allies against the Habsburg Charles V.

⁸² Yemişçi Hasan Paşa: grand vizier, 1601–3.

⁸³ A *sancağ* in the province of Erzurum.

⁸⁴ *Kañtār*: a measure of weight, about 56.5 kg.

⁸⁵ Şokolluzāde Hasan Paşa: commander of the force sent against the *celālī* rebel Karamanlı Yazıcı.

⁸⁶ *Celālī*: the term applied to rebels in Anatolia.

pound of gunpowder has come from here . . . There is absolutely no gunpowder left here,⁸⁷ nor in the frontier fortresses,⁸⁸ so that appeals come from them daily, saying ‘Help! Send gunpowder’, but we have none to send. Not to send gunpowder to them is as much as to say: ‘Let the infidels take over straight away’. Gunpowder is not like other things; if provision is not made beforehand to supply it, then, when the time of shortage comes, to produce even 100,000 ducats is useless. All the gold and silver of the world will not supply the place of gunpowder. Fortresses are defended and battles are fought with gunpowder . . . last year only 1000 *kañtārs* came from Egypt, and that is not enough even for eye-shadow. I sent a competent *kapuci-başı* to Egypt, and the *beglerbegi* there did not merely refuse to send gunpowder – he would not even let my agent into Egypt . . . Orders are not obeyed, words are not heeded. What use is it for me to be grand vizier when the *beglerbegi* of Egypt ignores what I say and Ḥasan Paşa . . . cancels my arrangements and does the opposite? Can the office of grand vizier be carried out under these circumstances? Your Majesty, the *beglerbegi* of Egypt⁸⁹ is still a youngster (*tāze*): you sent him out blindfolded from your imperial *harem* and made him a vizier straightaway, and it is difficult for a man to bear up under so great a favour from Your Majesty. Having been made governor of a province like Egypt and shown such great favour, is he going to pay attention to what a grand vizier says? Your Majesty, this procedure has destroyed the good order of the world: no-one obeys his superior, but does just what he fancies, and so matters have come to this state . . .

3b Submission of the vizier Yemişçi Ḥasan Paşa

Your Majesty, when I reported that 600,000 ducats were necessary for the pay of the *kuls* on campaign, you granted 400,000. Your Majesty the pay of the *kapu kulları*⁹⁰ . . . under Nūḥ Paşa, who is commander in Anatolia, amounts to 13,600,000 *ağçe*.⁹¹ If that amount is sent there, only 300 ducats can go to the Hungarian front, and this cannot be sufficient for the pay of the *kuls* serving in Hungary. Your Majesty, if I do not report the facts to Your Majesty, I sin in the eyes of God. What is the commander to do? . . .

3c Submission of the vizier Yemişçi Ḥasan Paşa

Your Majesty, today in the *dīvān* the matter of the pay of the *kuls*⁹² was submitted to you in detail, and now your *ḥaṭṭ-i hümāyūn*⁹³ has come, saying: ‘Raise money for the pay from the merchants and by selling the effects of Ḥasan Paşa and ‘Alī Ağa,⁹⁴ who have been executed. Collect money from here and there and give them their pay’. Your Majesty, by God and the Prophet, I have not been neglectful in the slightest degree over the raising of funds and other state affairs. Had it been possible to obtain cash for this pay-issue by borrowing from the merchants and by casting around here and there and by selling these people’s effects, I should not have troubled you . . . It is impossible to borrow from anyone without using torture . . . The

⁸⁷ ‘Here’ probably means Istanbul.

⁸⁸ A reference in particular to fortresses in Hungary.

⁸⁹ Malkoç ‘Alī Paşa.

⁹⁰ *Kapu kulları* (‘slaves of the Porte’): the Janissaries.

⁹¹ This values the *ağçe* at 136 *ağçe* to the gold ducat. See Chapter VIII.

⁹² *Kuls* (‘slaves’): the Janissaries.

⁹³ *Ḥaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* (‘imperial writing’): an order or other document in the sultan’s own hand.

⁹⁴ The vizier Ṭırnakçı Ḥasan Paşa and the *ağa* of the Janissaries, ‘Alī Ağa, were executed on the orders of Yemişçi Ḥasan Paşa.

kuls will most certainly demand their pay this Tuesday. This pay has always been paid each year in full, and four or five days before the *bayram*;⁹⁵ they are prepared to wait on other pay-days, but not on this one, as Your Majesty knows . . . If they are not paid, they will certainly cause trouble. Your Majesty, this is an extremely critical time. The *kuls* are now being ordered for service. Please grant 320 *yüks*⁹⁶ for this pay-issue. When the money mentioned comes in, it will be paid into the inner treasury.⁹⁷ This is the only solution.

Reply: Raise the money immediately from the outside. It is not possible to give it from inside.⁹⁸ Realise that.

3d Submission of the vizier Yemişçi Hasan Paşa

This is the petition of the former chief *defterdār* Maḥmūd: When it was proposed to the imperial stirrup that I should be chief *defterdār*, the imperial command was: ‘I will grant it, provided that he does not ask for money from the inner treasury’. It is for the *pādişāh* to command. But if the money of which he speaks is the pay for the *kuls* and the costs of campaigning, money for these purposes cannot be raised from outside. When campaigns went on for so long a time in the reign of the late Sultan Süleymān, money was regularly supplied from the inner treasury. To raise so much money from outside in these times of disturbances⁹⁹ is beyond human power. However, I will exert myself . . . Your Majesty, this man is a competent servant of yours. Grant him the post of *defterdār* . . .

Reply: Why propose to me a *defterdār* like this man? Does he treat my treasury as his *tīmār*? Wages from the inner treasury, campaign expenses from the inner treasury – what use is a *defterdār* like this? It seems that I am to be the *defterdār*. There is another Maḥmūd. Summon him and ask him.

3e Submission of Yemişçi Hasan Paşa

Your Majesty, when the matter of the post of *defterdār* was submitted to you, you replied: ‘I grant him the post on the condition that if he asks for money from the inner treasury, I shall cut off his head’. Your Majesty, no-one wants the post on that condition, for there is no-one who can refrain from asking from the inner treasury, and who can raise money from outside, unless he is capable of working miracles or persuades Gabriel to come down . . . ?

3f Submission of the grand vizier Meḥmed Paşa¹⁰⁰

Your Majesty. A firman has been written and is about to be sent to the governor of Egypt instructing him to send 3,000 *kuls* from the *kuls* of Egypt to the campaign in the East,¹⁰¹ with

⁹⁵ *Bayram* (‘festival’): here the Feast of Sacrifice, falling in the month of Dhū’l-Ḥijja.

⁹⁶ *Yük* (‘load’): a sum of 100,000 *ağçe*.

⁹⁷ Inner treasury: the sultan’s private treasury.

⁹⁸ That is, from the inner treasury.

⁹⁹ During the vizierate of Yemişçi Hasan Paşa, the Ottoman Empire was fighting an unsuccessful war in Hungary, attempting unsuccessfully to suppress the *celālī* rebellions in Anatolia and facing a Janissary rebellion. The last year of his vizierate saw the outbreak of war with Safavid Iran. The four petitions from Yemişçi Hasan were directed to Meḥmed III (1595–1603).

¹⁰⁰ Lala Meḥmed Paşa: grand vizier, 1604–6. His petition was directed to Aḥmed I (1603–17).

¹⁰¹ The campaign of Cığalazāde Sinān Paşa against Shah ‘Abbās in 1604–5.

ten *sancakbegis*, one of whom is to be in command. On the matter of an exalted indication upon this noble command through the blessed noble rescript (*ḥaṭṭ*) in the words ‘*mūcibi ile ‘amel olına*’,¹⁰² it is for my glorious *pādiṣāh* to command.¹⁰³

Reply: Done.

4 The sultan’s written instructions

When the felicitous *pādiṣāh* Sultan Meḥmed Hān performed the *çıkma*¹⁰⁴ for the pages, the *ḥaṭṭ-i hümāyūn* was written in these words and was read in all the chambers and the palaces, in 1009 (1600/1). It took place after *bayram* in the month of Dhū’l-Ḥijja (3 June–2 July), and that is when the *siliḥdar* ‘Alī Ağa went to Egypt as *beglerbegi*. ‘Be it known as follows: My *kuls*, I have determined for you to go out with honour. This is my admonition to you, that when you go out you should act as is pleasing to God. Let your partiality and affection always be directed this way. If you follow this command of mine, may you be happy in both abodes. If you depart from my command, you will not be happy in this world and the next. Beware of my curse; strive to win my blessing’.

5 The death of a grand vizier: the report of Henry Lello, English ambassador, 1597–1607

After this all was quiett, this Emisgee¹⁰⁵ attending all he could to make a peace with the Emperor, as alike to pacifie the Rebellion in Asia, to the end he might stay at home & enjoy his new married lady:¹⁰⁶ and whyle he attended these busines, an other incident hapned wch gave the G.S.¹⁰⁷ greate disturbe, for that his Shackzadee,¹⁰⁸ to say his eldeste sonne, beinge between 18 & 19 yeeres of Age, begane to grieve & murmur to see how his father was altogether led by the old Sultana¹⁰⁹ his Grand mother & the state went to Ruayne, she respecting nothing but her owne desire to gett money, & often Lamented thereof to his mother the young Sultana his fathers weif, not favoured of the Queene mother, who grieved likewise but could not remedie it. Yet she thought wth her self that she would send to a wiseman or fortune teller (for they are very supstitious) to knowe yf her sonne should be the succeeding king & how longe her husband the Emperor should live. aunsweare whereof was returned her in writing. The Messenger fayling in his messadge delivrd it to the old Sultana in steed of the yong Sultana, who, opening the same, findeth it was directed to her daughter in lawe, wherein was sette downe that within six monethes her sonne should be Emperor not shewing how whether b. the death or deprivacon of his father, wch the Q. mother presentlie comprehended was a plot of Trechery & therewith incensed her sonne the Emperor, who conceived noe les (& where they ha. any Ielosie they have noe mercie) called his sonne, examined him hereof, who indeede knewe nothing of his mothers action therein. He was layed downe & beaten upon the feete &

¹⁰² ‘Action is to be taken in accordance with what is required’.

¹⁰³ That is, ‘Please write on it’.

¹⁰⁴ *Çıkma* (‘going out’): the ceremonies performed when pages left the palace for service outside.

¹⁰⁵ Yemişçi Hasan Paşa.

¹⁰⁶ In 1601, Yemişçi Hasan Paşa married Meḥmed III’s sister, ‘Ā’işe Sultān.

¹⁰⁷ *Gran Signior* (Italian): the sultan.

¹⁰⁸ *Shāhzāde* (‘prince’), in this case Prince Maḥmūd, son of Meḥmed III.

¹⁰⁹ Şāfiye Sultān, mother of Meḥmed III.

bellie, as there faishon is, to make him confess; kept him in Close prison & after two daies was beaten aga., having evy time 200 blowes, & could gett nothing from him. Then the mother was called in question & examined, who confessed she did send unto a wiseman to know her sonnes fortune, but wth no intention of hurte or thought of the depriv. of her husband, whom she tendered so much with many ptestacons of love to him, wch would not satisfie him, espially the Q. mother, but was psentlie that nighte, with 30 more of her followers wch they supposed to be interested in the busins, shutt up a lyve into sacks & so throwne into the sea. Then he held a councell what he was to do wth his sonne, but to the same called non but only Emisgee & the Muftie,¹¹⁰ doubting yf all the others should be called & the matter known, the souldiers would rise and deprive him, for they loved the sonne, being a very pper youth & of greate hope, & hated the father for his basenes & cowardlines, suffering him self as a very child to be govned by his mother. In this councell the Muftie was of opinion that by there lawe without witnesses he could not be put to death: yet pceav. that nothing but his death would satisfie the father condiscended & gave sentence that [it were better] the sonne were deprived of his lief then the father to live in feare & ielosie of his lief; whereupon the sonne was strangled & most basely & obscurely buried; yet after his fathers death this psent Turke his brother¹¹¹ honored him where he was buried wth a goodly tombe or monument.

After all this the Q. mother thought she nor her sonne had noe other enemies now to trouble them but that she might goe one in her wonted manner to Rule & govne as she would, & that Emisgee would not (being her Creature, pferrd both to his place & wief by her meanes) any way contradict or crosse her. But contrary to her expecon, he when he sawe (his part & charge being greate) that the Q. mother Reaped the whole benefitt of his place into her cofers, led her sonne after her humor to the greate hurte & piudice of the state & him self not able to mainteyne his porte, secreetely complained to the kinge of the Q. mother, shewing how piudiciall & dishonorable her Councell and advice was to him self & his Empier, she workinge all for her owne ends & purposes, & were she not banished his courts from him, he should shortly see the daunger of it. This advice & Complaint the silly Emperor could not conceale from his mother, but acquainted her, & pceaving Emisgee his drifte & ingratitude towards her, she psently construed it in this manner to her sonne that he had much dishonored him to say he was led by her & that suerlie his drifte was to rise some mischeffe against him . . . The Emperor . . . by her psuasion psent. deprived him of his place wth command to gett him self out of the Citty of Constantinople, wch he did. Yet was not this a full satisfaction to the Q. mother, for she doubted that in contynuance of tyme, by the intercession of her daughter his wief to her brother, he might be received againe into grace & so remember her. Therefore she followed her sonne with many calumnacons against him, & left him not untill her sonne se. a comand to strangle him. The *Bustangee-bassa*,¹¹² accompanied wth some 200 *Iemy-oghlans*,¹¹³ coming to the place where he lay to execute the Emperors comand, Emisgee, having advice of it before there comeing, shut his gates & kept th. oute. Then they mounted the walls wth ladders, wherein divs of them were hurte & shott into the bodies with arrowes by him & his people in resisting them, & could not enter his pallace without more help . . . In the tyme of this hurly burly, his wief dispatched a way a post wth her letters to her mother & brother, wthall prayer and instance that for her sake he would pdon her husband, vowing that he & she both would

¹¹⁰ Ebū'l-Meyāmin Muştafā Efendi.

¹¹¹ Aḥmed I.

¹¹² *Bostāncı-başı* ('head gardener'). An occasional duty of the *bostāncı-başı* was to carry out executions.

¹¹³ *Acemī oğhlans*.

dpate to the Mecca without any further charge or trouble to them & lyve as poore pilgrims. All would not serve, & aunswere was sent that yf she did trouble them any further in his behalf she should accompany him with the same death that was appointed to him.

And seeinge no remedy could be had, he yelded & called for the executioner, desiring him only to say his prayers & then do his office; wch he did, stripping him self into his shurte, psenting his garments to his pages; & as the Executioner entered upon him, his first strake him with one blowe to the ground, then the rest entered & so strangled him with a corde wch they have for that purpose. His body was comanded to be throwne into a stinking ditch & not to be buried among muslemen, & this was the fowle end of that greate man.

SOURCES

- 1 Luṭfi Paşa, ed. Rudolf Tschudi, *Das Asafname des Lutfi Pascha*, Leipzig, (1910). The translation does not follow Tschudi's edition of the text exactly. In some places, VLM has preferred a variant reading recorded in the apparatus.
- 2 Luigi Bassano, *Costumi, et i Modi Particolari de la Vita de Turchi*, Rome (1545), ch. XX; reprint Franz Babinger (1963), 55–9.
- 3a Cengiz Orhonlu, *Osmanlı Tarihine Âid Belgeler: Telhisler*, Istanbul (1970), no. 21.
- 3b Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, no. 33.
- 3c Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, no. 41.
- 3d Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, no. 42.
- 3e Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, no. 93.
- 3f Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, no. 134.
- 4 Orhonlu, *Telhisler*, no. 10.
- 5 Orhan Buriian, *The Report of Lello: Third English Ambassador to the Sublime Porte*, Ankara (1952), 14–16.

The Provincial Administration and the *Tīmār* System

The earliest detailed description of Ottoman provincial administration appears in the account, dating from the late 1470s, of Ottoman history and institutions by Iacopo de Promontorio, a Genoese merchant in the service of Meḥmed II (r. 1451–81). In passage 1, he enumerated the *sancaqs* in the European and Asian provinces of the Ottoman Empire and calculated the number of troops each ‘captain’ or *sancaqbegi* was obliged to bring to war. Most of the revenues in each *sancaq* were distributed among the *sipāhīs*, holders of military fiefs (*tīmārs*), who each were obliged to bring to war horses, weapons, armour, tents and armed retainers in proportion to the size of their *tīmār*-income, as described in passage 2a. Passages 2–6 indicate that, typically, each *tīmār* consisted of a village or villages, where the *tīmār*-holding *sipāhī* resided and from which he drew his income.

Passage 3 demonstrates how the government maintained control of *tīmārs* by making periodic surveys of each *sancaq*, recording the names of all adult male taxpayers (although the the *sancaqs* in Europe also included widows) and their fiscal obligations, as well as all sources of revenue and how the revenue was distributed. From the detailed registers emerging from each survey, exemplified in passage 3, the administration was able to draw up summary registers, omitting the names of individual taxpayers, but showing the distribution of *tīmārs* and the obligations of their holders (see also passage 2a). Surveys were made in newly conquered areas and at certain intervals – nominally every thirty years – thereafter. Passages 2, 3, 4 and 5 show that, as the original registers went out of date, marginal notes were added to record changes in the occupancy of *tīmārs* and the distribution of revenues. Particularly major battles would result in many deaths, and the re-allocations of *tīmārs* would always be made in their immediate aftermath, as evident in passage 6. Since revenues belonging to private individuals were not available to the treasury for distribution as *tīmārs* or as *hāşş* assigned to the sultan, viziers or governors, the seizure of private property was a means for the sultan to increase his available resources: Meḥmed II in particular became notorious for his confiscations, described in passage 7.

While the *tīmār*-holding cavalry made up the bulk of the Ottoman army before the end of the sixteenth century, the sultans also drew on other troops, including the *aķıncıs* (the raiders on the European frontier), the ‘*azabs* (infantry raised through a levy on urban youth, see passage 1) and volunteers attracted by the prospect of booty or the award of a *tīmār* (see passage 8). When there was no campaign, the *sipāhīs* resided on

their *tīmārs*, where they also had a role in maintaining order in the locality. Passage 9 indicates that in some provinces on the frontier, warfare was continuous, with raids, counter-raids and sieges a daily and year-round reality. Yet, great fortunes could be made, as passage 10 shows.

1 From the report of Iacopo de Promontorio, c1475–80

Greece¹

The *beglerbegi* of Grecia, the captain-general over all the captains, *subaşı*² and *kādīs*,³ has under him seventeen captains,⁴ each with a following (*conducta*) for himself as set out below; and beyond this he has particularly under himself 1,500 fighting men (*armigero*), with their own pay, whom he pays from his own funds. He has as income in Grecia of 32,000 ducats, through various benefices (*beneficii*),⁵ and furthermore very profitable perquisites (*regalie*), principally 4,000 ducats from the said captains and similarly from the abundance of other less important offices which he grants to whomever he wishes. Yet he is obliged in time of war to bring with him at his own expense the said fighting men, all mounted, one third of them with bow, arrows, cuirass (*corazei*), coat of mail (*panziere*), shield, sword, lance and iron mace, with 150 horses in horse-armour (*imbardati*), all in good order; the rest with bow, arrows, sword, shield, mace and lance, apart from those to whom the Signior⁶ sometimes grants cuirasses, helmets, bows and coats of mail.

He holds court and palace in style, like the Grand Turk,⁷ according to his own rank. He imposes sentences of death and of all other matters to all the inhabitants of Grecia and its provinces *de jure* and *de facto*, and everything that he does is approved by the Signior without any protest. He maintains by him two *subaşı* . . . and two *kādīs* as deputies to administer justice; they have 4,000 ducats of maintenance among the four of them, together with profitable perquisites, but they are obliged, like all others, in time of war and whenever the Signior requires, to lead 50 men, *videlicet* the *subaşı* 50 each and the *kādīs* 100 each, who go armed only with bow, arrows, sword, shield and mace.

This *beglerbegi*, when he goes with the army, always travels with all his captains and the army of Grecia one day's march or more in front of the Signior; and thus he forms his own city of pavilions duly arranged as does the Signior. He maintains for his transport 500 camels and 500 mules. When he assumes office, every household (*casa*) in all Grecia is obliged to give him one *aķçe* (*aspro*). And not that the Grand Turk does not give him any part of these 32,000 ducats from his own [resources], but he is provided from the fees (*staglie*) of Greeks, together with various benefices.

The seventeen captains of war

¹ Greece (Italian: 'Grecia'): the Ottoman province of Rūmeli.

² *Subaşı* (Turkish: 'army head'): an officer in a *sancaĥ* in possession of a *ze'āmet*, responsible for law and order in his district and, on campaigns, acting as an officer of the *tīmār*-holding cavalrymen.

³ *Ķādī*: a judge in a Muslim court, acting as both judge and notary.

⁴ *Sancaĥbegis*.

⁵ That is, *hāşş*.

⁶ The sultan.

⁷ The sultan.

First, the captain of Constantinople. His captaincy reaches as far as Varna, towards the Black Sea, and in the other direction as far as Panidos on the way to Gallipoli. He has as income of 60,000 [sic!] ducats a year and has beneath him one *subaşı* and one *kāđī*. He has the income of his province, that is, from every household of Greeks 10 *akçe* and of Turks 20 *akçe*. But he is obliged, whenever the army . . . sets out, to bring with him 1,200 men, all on horseback . . .

[Summary of military obligations]

<i>Captain</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Bards</i> ⁸	<i>Men</i>
1. Constantinopoli	60,000 ducats	50	1,200
2. Galipoli	11,000	nil?	1,100
3. Adrianopoli ⁹	9,000	60	1,300
4. Nicopoli and Zagora ¹⁰	12,000	70	1,500
5. Vidin	6,000	50	1,100
6. Sophia	10,000	55	1,300
7. Ceruia Lazari ¹¹	8,000	—	900
8. Ceruia Dispoti ¹²	5,000	50	1,000
9. Vardarii ¹³	12,000	100	1,500

. . . a great captain, formerly 'Alī Beg son of Evrenos, a great lord . . . [of the 1,500 men] the majority are his slaves.

10. Scopia ¹⁴	13,000	150	1,600
11. Albania Schenderbei ¹⁵	? 20	800	
12. Boxina Regno ¹⁶	5,000	25	900
13. L'altra Boxina ¹⁷	4,000	?	600
14. Albania Araniti ¹⁸	5,000	25	1,000
15. Larta, Loxitoni, and Cetines ¹⁹	7,000	40	1,200
16. Moree ²⁰	10,000	60	1,300
17. Monastirij ²¹	12,000	50	1,000

⁸ Bards (Italian: *barde*): horse-armour. Iacopo is recording the numbers of heavy cavalrymen that each *sancakbegi* is required to bring to war.

⁹ Edirne.

¹⁰ Nikopol and Stara Zagora.

¹¹ Serbia. The land of Lazar Branković (d. 1458).

¹² Serbia. Probably the land of Lazar's brother, Gregor Branković (d. 1459).

¹³ The Vardar Valley, the hereditary territory of the Evrenos family.

¹⁴ Skopje.

¹⁵ The territory of Skanderbeg (d. 1468), around Krujë, Albania.

¹⁶ Royal Bosnia. The territory of the former Kingdom of Bosnia.

¹⁷ Hercegovina, the former territory of count Stephen Vukčić.

¹⁸ Southern Albania, territory of the Arianit clan.

¹⁹ Arta, Lamía, Athens.

²⁰ The Morea, the Peloponnese.

²¹ Bitola.

. . . These are about 22,000 men, not costing the Signior anything as regular payment, although it is true that he makes various gifts to them: he even gives arms sometimes to some who are not well armed.²²

The akıncıs

When the Signior wishes to assemble an army (*perforzo*), there always stand ready in Grecia in all provinces Turks, 8,000 men, all horsemen, called *akıncıs* (*achengi*), who have the privilege of sowing²³ on the holdings (*tenitorio*) of the Signior as much as two or three pairs of oxen can plough without paying tithe. They are nothing but corsairs by land, living in the villages of subject Christians. They are obliged at the behest of the Signior to ride wherever he commands at their own cost . . . Of the 8,000, only 6,000 go, the other 2,000 remaining to guard against enemies on the frontiers; that is: **6,000**.

The ‘azabs

Similarly, when he wishes to undertake a campaign, he causes to be selected for war-service in various populous places Turkish craftsmen and peasants called ‘*azabs* (*azappi*), and they number some 6,000. Each of them when in the field has 2 *akçe* a day, and no more; their captain has 12. When it comes to an engagement, they are sent ahead like pigs without any mercy, and they die in great numbers; they are cowardly (*poltroni*), going on foot, and they turn their backs – with bow, arrows, sword, cuirass and wooden mace; that is: **6,000**.

The lord *beglerbegi* of Turchia, captain-general over other captains and lords of Turchia, resides in Amasya . . . He has under him 15 captains of provinces, who . . . in time of war lead (the captain-general included) about 17,000 men, although some few remain on the coasts for protection against enemies. He has as income 22,000 ducats in some provinces near to his residence from various perquisites belonging to his office, and from hearth-taxes (*focagij*), 20 *akçe* for each household, once a year, from Turks only; and furthermore he has taxes (*gabelle*) and imposts (*datij*) belonging to himself . . . In time of war . . . 300 *barde* and 1,200 men.

[Summary of military obligations]

<i>Captain</i>	<i>Income</i>	<i>Bards</i>	<i>Men</i>
1–2. Tocati et Amazia ²⁴	27,000	1,000	(10,000)
		4,000	

. . . The eldest son²⁵ of the Grand Turk holds two captaincies . . . he is about 35 years old, the son of an Albanian slave-girl . . . He maintains an army of 10,000 warriors at his own expense, all mounted, with about 1,000 *barde*. But because he is near to Tamburlano,²⁶ he does not depart; when the Signior asks, he sends to the *beglerbegi* 4,000 of the aforesaid 10,000 . . .

²² In fact, 20,800, but *perhaps* the contingents of the *subaşıs* and *kādīs* are to be counted in [VLM].

²³ In a reprise of this passage (p. 61), Iacopo adds ‘by the hands of their slaves’ [VLM].

²⁴ Tokat and Amasya.

²⁵ Prince Bāyezīd.

²⁶ This does not refer to Timur (Tamburlaine) but, as Iacopo explains, to the son of the Akköyünlu sultan Uzun Hasan (d. 1478), possibly Ugurlu Muḥammad, or Uzun Ḥasan’s successor, Ya ḳūb.

3–4.	Canderone ²⁷	8,000	— 650	(1,650)
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... He maintains 1,650 men ... In time of war he sends into the field to the Signior 650 men, without bards. The remaining 1,000 stay on the frontiers as protection against the Soldano²⁸ and Karaman ...

5.	Saltarea ²⁹	15,000	100	1,400
6–8.	Salcan, Aidin and Mentexe ³⁰	19,000	300	3,500

... The second son, called Çelebi,³¹ holds three captaincies ... If this son were not there, these captaincies would be distributed to three persons.

9.	Belgamo ³²	6,000	25	700
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... A land largely depopulated for fear of corsairs in the time of the father of this present Turk ...

10.	Bursia ³³	12,000	80	1,700
11–12.	Angori ³⁴	25,000	100	1,800
13.	Ottomangic ³⁵	7,000	30	900
14–15.	Castamina ³⁶	14,000	120	2,550

... It consists of two captaincies, sometimes given to two, sometimes to one. At present, the third son of the Signior³⁷ is appointed captain ...

2 An entry in a *tīmār*-register, with marginal notes

2a *Tīmār of İnebegi and Hüseyin, sons of ser'asker Hasan*

themselves in coats of mail	one lad each	one <i>tenktür</i> -tent ³⁸ for each two men ³⁹
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²⁷ Alanya.

²⁸ The Mamlūk sultan.

²⁹ Antalya?

³⁰ Saruhan, Aydın and Menteşe.

³¹ Prince Muştafâ. 'Çelebi' means 'prince'.

³² Bergama.

³³ Bursa.

³⁴ Ankara.

³⁵ Osmancık.

³⁶ Kastamonu.

³⁷ Prince Cem, third son of Mehmed II. He held this *sancağ* from 1469 to 1474.

³⁸ Apparently, a small tent, brought on campaign by holders of lower-value *tīmārs*.

³⁹ The 'men-and-tent' notes in *tīmār*-registers show the number of retainers, the armour and the tents that the holder of the *tīmār* was required to bring on campaign.

Timār of İnebegi and Hüseyin, sons of *ser'asker* Hasan
They hold a *berāt* of the sultan

1. [İnebegi] died. Transferred to Oğçu Karaca. 1st decade of Rabī' I 851 (17–26 May 1447). Edirne.
2. Died. Share of this Oğçu Karaca given to Yūsuf son of Şūfī Sāmī of Şehirköy.⁴⁰ I Dhū'l-Qa' da 852 (January 1449). Edirne.

Village of
Yılınça

households: 21
revenue: 1,475 [*akçe*]

Village of
Pirvol

households: 7
widows: 1
revenue: 771

2b [*Possibly relating to the village of Yılınça*]

At present this village has been given by transfer from Yūsuf son of Şūfī Sāmī to Delü Hızır; he holds it and serves. Last decade of Jumādā I 857 (29 May–7 June 1453). The camp at Istanbul.⁴¹

2c [*possibly relating to the village of Pirvol*]

At present this village has been given as supplement to 'Alī, the *çeri-başı*⁴² of Sofia. Second decade of Shawwāl 857 (24 October–3 November 1453). Filibe.⁴³

Village of
Ponor

households: 48
widows: 2
revenue: 3013

[In total]

villages: 3 households: 76 widows: 3 revenue: 5,259

⁴⁰ Pirot.

⁴¹ This entry in the register was made immediately after the fall of Constantinople, in the sultan's camp.

⁴² *Çeri-başı* ('troop-commander'): an officer commanding a division of *timār*-holding cavalry from a *sancağ*.

⁴³ Plovdiv.

3 Two entries from the detailed register of Āmid, 1518⁴⁴*3a Tīmār of Yemini the Kurd, a sipāhī of the sancaḡ of Āmid*The village of Ḥāne Ḳabrān, *tīmār* of the aforementioned

Şāh Ḳulı, son of Cān Ḳulı: 1 <i>çift</i> ⁴⁵	Ḥüseyn, son of Cān Ḳulı: 1 <i>çift</i>	Ḥüseyn, son of Pır Ḳulı: 1 <i>çift</i>	Ḥüdāvırdı, son of Tañrıvırdı: 1 <i>çift</i>
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Ḳara Seydī, son of
‘Alī: 1 *çift*

Total: 5 households

<u>Çift-tax</u> 5 <i>çifts</i> at 24 120	<u>Nā’ıbcık & vālıcık tax</u> ⁴⁶ Grain – 10 <i>kiles</i> ⁴⁸ 70	<u>Bevvābı-tax</u> ⁴⁷ at the same rate – 10 <i>kiles</i> 70	
<u>Dehnīm-tax</u> ⁴⁹ Cash 17	<u>Fodder-tax</u> Cash 50	<u>Cattle-tax</u> at 2 <i>akçe</i> per head 15	<u>Irregular taxes</u> 55
<u>1/5 of wheat</u> 250 <i>kile</i> 2,000	<u>1/5 of barley produce</u> 90 <i>kiles</i> 450		

Total: 2,937 [sic] [Registered on] 1 Ramaḡān 924 (6 September 1518)

*3b Tīmār of Sa’du’llāh the yaşavul,⁵⁰ a sipāhī of the sancaḡ of Āmid*The village of Altunaḡar, *tīmār* of the aforementioned

‘İzzü’ d-Dīn, son of Ḥāccı Aḡmed: 1 <i>çift</i>	Celāl, son of ‘Alī: 1 <i>çift</i>	Bayram, son of Ca’fer: 1 <i>çift</i>
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⁴⁴ The 1518 register of the *sancaḡ* of Āmid was the first to be made after the Ottoman conquest of the district. The taxes recorded here are identical to those levied under Aḡḡoyunlu rule, although their value is expressed in Ottoman *akçe*. The Ottoman system of taxation was applied throughout the *sancaḡ* after the second survey in 1540.

⁴⁵ *Çift*: a peasant tenement, nominally the amount of land a family could cultivate with one yoke of oxen.

⁴⁶ In origin, possibly a tax for the maintenance of the governor (*vālī*) and his deputy (*nā’ıb*).

⁴⁷ Possibly a tax in lieu of tolls paid at the city gates.

⁴⁸ *Kile*: a measure of grain, in Āmid c.12.8 kg.

⁴⁹ *Dehnīm* (‘five percent’): apparently a tax on poultry.

⁵⁰ *Yaşavul*: here perhaps a sergeant responsible for ordering the ranks in battle. Probably a position held under the Aḡḡoyunlu regime before the Ottoman conquest of Āmid in 1516.

Mehmed, son of the Arab: ½ *çift* 'Ālī, son of the Arab: ½ *çift* Ḳāsim the Kurd: ½ *çift* Yūsuf the Armenian: ½ *çift*

'Ömer the Kurd
 Total: 8 households

<u>Çift-tax</u>	<u>Nā'ibcīk & vālicīk-tax</u>	<u>Bevvābī-tax</u>	
5 <i>çifts</i>	Grain – 10 <i>kīles</i>	at the same rate – 10 <i>kīles</i>	
120 [<i>aḳçe</i>]	70	70	
<u>Dehnīm-tax</u>	<u>Fodder-tax</u>	<u>Cattle tax</u>	<u>Irregular taxes</u>
Cash	@ 100 bundles per <i>çift</i>	10 <i>aḳçe</i>	53
17	50		
<u>1/5 of wheat</u>	<u>1/5 of barley and millet</u>		
250 <i>kīles</i>	130 <i>kīles</i>		
2,000	780		

Total: 3,170 [*aḳçe*]

Arable land [with] derelict dwellings

Empty plots: 4 *çifts*

Estimated yield: 500 *aḳçe*

4 Sundry marginal notes in a summary-register of c1445, Thessaloniki etc.

Tīmār of the Lagator Rayko.

[note] Died. Hanged as he was proved to be a brigand. Transferred to his son Kraso. July 1451. Sofia.

[note to a village] Given to the infidel named Yavan. One of those who fled from Belgrade and came in. October 1453. Filibe.

Village of Ḳaraḳoç. Boatmen. They run boats on the Vardar, at the transit-point of Vilkat within the boundaries of 'Avrethiṣarı.⁵¹ The boats are royal *waqf*. The boatmen hold decrees of the late Emīr Süleymān Beg⁵² and the sultan,⁵³ exempting them from all imposts ('*avārız*).

Households of Muslims: 8 of Christians: 2

Tīmār of Ḳāsim and Aḳmed, sons of Ḳul Ḥamza; they hold it jointly and serve by turns. [note] Since it was reported of this Ḳāsim that he fled from before Istanbul, his share was taken away and given to Ḥızır, the *kul* of Sāmlu 'Alī Beg, in addition to the *mezra* 'a⁵⁴ named Yanaki which he already holds. He and Aḳmed serve by turns, except that when the *pādiṣāh* or the *begler-begi* of Rūmeli goes on campaign, they are both to serve. December 1453. Edirne.

⁵¹ Kilkis.

⁵² The eldest son of Bāyezīd I. Ruled in Rūmeli from 1402 to 1411.

⁵³ This is probably a reference to Mehmed I (1413–21) whom sources often refer to as 'the Sultan'.

⁵⁴ *Mezra* 'a: an area of arable land without habitations.

[note to a village] At present it has been taken and given to the *voivode* Dan-oğlu,⁵⁵ who presented a noble *tevkār*,⁵⁶ in exchange for the village of Gostomenos, which has been given to the emperor (*tekfür*) of Istanbul. July 1451. Sofia.’

5 Marginal notes in a similar register of 1455, Skopje

5a *Tīmār of Mūsā, retainer (ḥidmetkār) of ‘Isā Beg*

[note 1] Given to the Janissary Yūsuf of Stanimaka: he renders service to the fortress. 16 July 1463. Camp at Kačanik.

[note 2] Since this Yūsuf of Stanimaka committed homicide, this *tīmār* has been taken away and given to the doorkeeper (*kapuçı*) Kırık Mūsā, slave of the sultan (*gūlām-i mīr*) . . . August 1466. Camp at Prilep.

[later entry] Village of Mavrova. Not in the register. Since nobody held it, it was given to two infidels, Dimitri and Oliver, one of them to serve, *cebelü*,⁵⁷ each year. 23 December 1462.⁵⁸ Istanbul.

households: 12 revenue: 624 copied from the document.

[note] After this Oliver became a Muslim by the name Süleymān, the *tīmār* of ‘Alī, listed two folios below, was added to this *tīmār*, and the whole of the *tīmār* was confirmed to this Süleyman. Date noted there.

5b *Tīmār of Yūsuf, kinsman of the mīr-aḥur*⁵⁹ *Ḥamza Beg (value: 1,453)*

[note 1] Given with his consent to his son ‘Alī. 11 July 1463. Camp near Ras.

[note 2] Since he [‘Alī] committed banditry, it was given to the new Muslim Süleymān, mentioned two folios above. August 1466. İştīp.⁶⁰

[later entry] *Mezra* ‘a⁶¹ of Yelov Dol. Not in the register. Since nobody held it, it was given, by the document (*mektūb*) of Umūr Beg, to the infidels Giorg and Miladin, because they undertook to bring it into cultivation, to guard that pass (*derbend*), and to serve annually by turns. 23 December 1462. Istanbul.

[note 1] At present this village, together with the village of Botoçane below and Hotule (?) two pages on and Zormişte one village down, have been given to ‘Osmān of Kāstamonı. 29 June 1462. Edirne.

⁵⁵ Vladislav II, *voivode* of Wallachia (1447–56), son of Dan II (1422–31).

⁵⁶ A firman verifying his claim.

⁵⁷ *Cebelü* (‘armoured’). That is, he is to serve with the armour and weapons specified in the *tīmār*-register; or, he is to bring one armed retainer.

⁵⁸ Date given according to the Julian calendar.

⁵⁹ *Mīr-āḥur*: master of the sultan’s stables.

⁶⁰ İştīp.

⁶¹ *Mezra* ‘a: an area of cultivated land without dwellings.

[note 2] *Mezra 'a* of Yelov Dol, eighteen folios down, given to this 'Osmān as a supplement. Date noted there.

6 Two *tīmār* grants⁶²

6a *Thessaloniki: the tīmār of Mehmed [comprising] the village İspere Kelb (?) [worth] 4,100 [akçe per annum]*

Bayrakdār⁶³ Mehmed, the standard-bearer of the *beglerbegi* of the province of the Archipelago,⁶⁴ Alī Paşa,⁶⁵ has stated that the above named has died. He bears a command [entitling him] to a *tīmār* in Rümeli with an initial value of 3,000 *akçes*. Since he recently performed outstanding services in the fleet under the aforementioned and has requested [that he be given the vacant *tīmār*], it has been decreed [that it be given to him] with the surplus value.

6b *Yalaçabad [in the sancağ of] Kocaeli: the tīmār of İvaz [comprising] the village of Harmanlı and others [worth] 5,000 [akçe per annum]*

Da'ūd (?), who holds a *tīmār* worth 3,000 *akçe* in the aforementioned *sancağ* and is entitled to a *tīmār* of 7,000 *akçe*, has petitioned that the above-named is dead and his *tīmār* vacant and has requested [that it be given to himself]. This has been decreed, with the 1,000 *akçes* surplus. [Both dated first decade of Jumādā II 979 (21–30 October 1571)]

7 Conversion of privately owned revenue to a *hāss*-estate

To the *kāđī* of Serres:

When the felicitous *tevki*⁶⁶ arrives, be it known that: Heretofore I sent to you a noble decree with the order: 'I have made the *mülk*⁶⁷-village of Glamovik-oğlu, dependent on Serres, into *hāşş*. You are to lease it out (*muķāta 'aya ver-*) and inform my Porte [what arrangements you have made]'. Now I have assigned (*ta 'yīn*) 10,000 *akçe* from the income of that *mülk* to the orphan son of that Glamovik as a *tīmār*, for him to serve with my victorious army. Therefore, I have commanded that: if the orphan son of this Glamovik-oğlu himself accepts this *muķāta 'a*⁶⁸ and undertakes (*iltizām*) to hand over to my Porte the excess over and above 10,000 *akçe*, you are to grant [the *muķāta 'a*] to him, and inform [me] in writing at what price you have granted it. If he does not undertake this, you are to grant the *muķāta 'a* to someone else, and at the revenue time (*hāsil vaķti*) this Glamovik-oğlu is to take the 10,000 *akçe* which I have ordered and is to serve with my victorious army. Thus you are to know . . . [October 1472]

In the camp of
Beşiktaş

⁶² Both grants were made following the battle of Lepanto (1571), when deaths in the battle left many *tīmārs* vacant.

⁶³ *Bayrakdār*: standard-bearer.

⁶⁴ The admiral (*kapudan paşa*) was *beglerbegi* of the [Aegean] Archipelago.

⁶⁵ This could refer either to the Admiral Mü'ezzinzāde 'Alī Paşa, who lost his life in the battle, or to his successor Uluç 'Alī Paşa.

⁶⁶ The *tuğra* at the head of the document, guaranteeing its authenticity.

⁶⁷ *Mülk*: private property; land, the revenues of which are privately owned.

⁶⁸ *Muķāta 'a*: a bundle of revenues leased out as a tax-farm.

8 A call for volunteers before the Moldavian campaign, 1484

To all the *kāḏīs*:

When the exalted *tevķī*⁶⁹ arrives, be it known that: Seeking assistance from God and from the Prophet, I have embarked on a great *ġazā*, which, God willing, will end in victory.⁶⁹ Now each of you is to cause a proclamation to be made in the places under your jurisdiction that persons who are eager for the *ġazā* and the *jihād*, persons who seek booty, persons who are good fighters earning their bread by the sword, persons seeking to gain a *tīmār* by their service (*yoldaşlık*) should come with their weapons and gear and join me on this blessed *ġazā*, so winning the merit of the *jihād* and gaining plunder and booty. Each man who serves will enjoy my favour according to service, a *tīmār* and *dirlık*⁷⁰ for him who wants a *tīmār* . . . and *pencik* will not be taken on what such people have won . . . First decade of Rabīʿu'l-awwal 889 (29 March–7 April 1484).

In the camp of
Devletlü Kabağaç

9 Submissions by and to the *sancak begi* of Bosnia, c1512–14⁷¹

9a The *sancak begi* of *Işkodra*⁷² to *Yūnus Paşa* of *Bosnia*

A noble command has reached me from the Porte, saying: ‘Since the Hungarians are massing and their objective is Bosnia, I have commanded that you are to go and join *Yūnus Paşa* with your *subaşı* and your *sipāhīs*’. In obedience to the exalted order, we have set out. I request you to send word by the bearer to tell me what the situation is with regard to that quarter and where you wish me to go. If the matter is urgent, I will make all haste, in order to have the sooner the pleasure of joining you.

Your sincere friend (*muḥibbuhü'l-muḥliş*).
Ḥüsrev

9b The *sancak begi* of *Zvornik* to *Yūnus*

Your Excellency, my Mighty Sultan: My humble submission is that on Monday 30 *Rajab* we found an occasion against the fortress of *Srebrenica* and seized it. We rallied the cavalry and infantry of this area and, under the auspices of the felicitous *ḥüdāvendġār*⁷³ and of your lordship, the fortress has been taken. The bearer ‘*Alīşīr*’ has been sent to your lordship with this good news.

The weak servant (*bende-i naḥīf*)
Muştafā b. ‘*İsā*

⁶⁹ The call is for volunteers for the campaign to take *Kiliya* and *Akkerman* in 1484.

⁷⁰ *Dirlık* (‘a living’): a fief.

⁷¹ The introductory and closing honorifics have been omitted.

⁷² *Şkodër*.

⁷³ The sultan.

9c *The sancağbegi of Bosnia to the nā'ib of Visoka*

Mounted *beşlūs*⁷⁴ have been appointed from the Porte to the fortress of Kamengrad, and provisions and fodder must be sent to them. When my friendly letter arrives, you are to assist the bearer, the *beşlü-başı* Ca'fer Beg, to buy with his own money as much fodder as he needs at the fixed price. This matter is important and urgent. Shawwāl, 917 (December 1512).

9d *The sancağ begi of Bosnia to the Porte*

On the road leading to Kluč and Kamengrad, which are fortresses of the *pādişāh* lying four days' journey within enemy territory, there is a strong fortress named Sokol,⁷⁵ which was in the hands of the infidels. They would cut the communications, so that supplies had to be taken through, with much danger, by two- or three-thousand men. They often attacked the supply-columns, killing many men and imprisoning others. Near this fortress are the graves of many famous *subaşı*s and *gāzīs*, including Gürz Ilyās, Güzel Tursun and Mü'min Hoca, each of whom was a *gāzī* of *subaşı* rank leading a force of two- or three-hundred campaigners (*yoldaş*): they were killed near this fortress and their graves are still places of pilgrimage (*ziyāretgāh*). When recently the supplies for the *beşlūs* of Kamengrad were sent off under my officer with a force of *beşlūs* and *akıncı*s, the infidels set an ambush near Sokol and attacked the column. The *gāzīs* fought back, and there was much fighting; but finally, under the good auspices of the *pādişāh*, the infidels were defeated and scattered: some took refuge in Göllišār, some fled to Sokol. The *gāzīs* pursued them and entered the fortress [Sokol] before they could shut the gates. They killed some and captured others, and the fortress has been taken. On 1 Dhū'l-Ḳa'da a garrison was put in. So I report.

Near Sokol are mines, like those of Srebrenica which are called *hāşş*; they could quickly be put into production and would supply the wages for all the fortresses of Bosnia. To travel to the imperial fortresses would become easy, so that one could go from the Well-Protected Territories to Sokol with just one or two men, and then on to Kluč and Kamengrad. Thus the troops and all the *re'āyā* in that region would live in tranquillity, praying for the welfare of the *pādişāh*.

The circumstances have been submitted ('*arż*') accurately to the *bāb-i sa'ādet*.⁷⁶ Beyond that (*bāḳī*), the command belongs to the exalted Porte.

9e *The sancağbegi of Bosnia to the Porte*

The bearers, the *bölük-başı*⁷⁷ Süleymān and Hıızr of Manastır, having brought [me] a letter (*mektüb*) from the garrison commander of Vinçac (?) requesting a request ('*arż-dāşt*) for the quarterly pay of the troops of that fortress; the matter is reported to the *bāb-i sa'ādet*. This fortress being in the immediate vicinity of Jajce,⁷⁸ they cannot engage in agriculture at all, and their only support is from their salaries ('*ulūfe*'). It is requested that this fortress be treated as a

⁷⁴ *Beşlü* (Turkish: 'fiver'): a fortress guard levied from a village.

⁷⁵ Sokolovići.

⁷⁶ *Bāb-i sa'ādet* ('gate of felicity'): the gate between the inner and outer palace where the sultan held audience; by extension, the sultan; the sultan's government.

⁷⁷ *Bölük-başı* (Turkish: 'head of a division'): an officer in the Janissaries.

⁷⁸ Jajce was in the hands of the Hungarians.

special case; that the wages be transferred (*havāle*) from some source near at hand; and that an exalted decree [to that effect] be granted to the two bearers.

9f *The sancaqbegi of Bosnia to the Porte*

I have received a letter from the garrison-commander of Sokol, saying ‘Since this fortress was ‘written’,⁷⁹ Selāniklü Ilyās has not shown up: but the fortress is in the *dārü ’l-ḥarb*,⁸⁰ and we must have men (*yoldaş*)’. Therefore he has granted (*tevcih*) the vacancy (*gedük*) to the bearer, the able campaigner (*yarar yoldaş*) Hüseyn of Akḫiṣār, who has served and stood guard in the fortress since it was taken and has requested an ‘*arż-dāşt* [from me] reporting the matter. The matter is therefore reported to the *bāb-i sa’ādet* with the request that this vacancy be granted to the afore-mentioned . . .

9g *The sancaqbegi of Bosnia to the Paşa*⁸¹

The *tīmār* of Dolna Luca in the *nāḥiye* of Brod, formerly held by Şirmerd of Filibe, a member of the garrison of Zvornik, was given some time ago to the bearer, Keṭhüdā-oğlu Meḥmed, also a member of the garrison. Meḥmed has been constant in his service and has in fact been in possession of the *tīmār*; but his *berāt* has been lost, and he has requested an ‘*arż-daşt* for the renewal of his *berāt*. The matter is therefore reported to your excellency by this dutiful note, and it is requested . . .

9h *The sancaqbegi of Bosnia to the Paşa*

I have received a letter from the garrison-commander of Voynitsa saying that the two brothers Ḥasan and Meḥmed, who hold a share of the village . . ., hold jointly one fortress-vacancy (*ḫiṣar gedügi*); but they both have families and cannot manage on one vacancy, so Ḥasan has given up his half-vacancy and departed. The commander has requested an ‘*arż-daşt* reporting the matter, in the hope that the vacancy can be consolidated in favour of the bearer Meḥmed, who holds the other half. The matter is therefore reported to your excellency . . .

10 ‘The good old days’

On this glorious *ğazā*⁸² my grandfather, the *alay-begi*⁸³ of Bosnia, was present, as was my late father with his seven brothers – all valiant warriors, whose homes in the *nāḥiye* of Bīḥa (?) near Sarajevo are still known to the inhabitants as belonging to ‘the sons of the *alay-begi*’. Thus [because I am going to give their testimony on the battle] I must make some mention of them: if any of their connections sees this, I ask them to utter a prayer for them and other learned [readers] to accept my apologies [for speaking of my family]. Well then, in the year 877 (1463) the pre-eminent *ğāzī*-sultan . . . Meḥmed [II] conquered most of Bosnia; seeing that it was necessary to appoint a *sancaqbegi* of Bosnia, he gave the post first to Minnet-Begoḫlı

⁷⁹ That is, since all receipts and expenditures on the fortress were recorded.

⁸⁰ *Dārü ’l-ḥarb* (‘abode of war’): territory controlled by non-Muslims.

⁸¹ Presumably the *beglerbegi* of Rümeli.

⁸² The campaign of Mohács in 1526.

⁸³ The holder of a *ze’āmet*, serving as an officer of the *tīmār*-holding cavalry.

Mehmed Beg. My great-grandfather ara Davud Aa, then being the *silihdar*⁸⁴ of the sultan, probably through his relationship to Mehmed Beg or for some other reason, became *alay begi* of Bosnia with a *ze amet* of 50,000 *ake*, and so left (*ık-*) the *harem*.⁸⁵ Indeed he [later] received by *berat* the *ze amet* of Yaya-Paazade Kucuk Bali Beg, who had led the vanguard in a battle in the reign of Sultan Bayezid [II]. That *berat* is still in my possession and I was thinking of putting it, word for word, into this compilation – I may do so later. Let no-one think, by comparison with the present day, that for a *silihdar* to ‘go out’ with a *ze amet* is somehow discreditable: the status of a *ze amet* of 50,000 *ake* in those days was several times higher than that of a vizier nowadays.

I frequently heard my father say: ‘We did great things in Bosnia in the days of ara Malko Beg. The *gazis* won such booty that I alone, with my one retainer (*hidmetkar*), gained booty worth 60,000 *ake*. Malko Beg sent fully armoured prisoners (*dil*)⁸⁶ and heads to the Porte, with a recommendation that my father be given an increase (*terakkı*) and I be given an ‘induction’ (*ibtida*),⁸⁷ saying: ‘The *alay begi* was solely responsible for this [successful] *gazı*. My father as *alay begi* was given an increase of 500 *ake*, but my *ibtida* was made dependent on service in one further campaign. I then went on the ‘Irakeyn campaign⁸⁸ [and rendered service] at the Pass of Karakan. Then, ‘because the *alay-begi*’s son has campaigned without an appointment (*ma zul*)’, I was granted an induction-*tımar*. God knows that I could not have come home more happily if they had given me the whole *sanca* of Bosnia!’ So he would say, pointing out the comparison for those who in later days despised an order for an *ibtida*.

SOURCES

- 1 Franz Babinger (ed.), *Die Aufzeichnungen des Genuesen Iacopo de Promontorio de Campis uber den Osmanenstaat um 1475*, Munich (1967), 48–60.
- 2 Nikolaj Todorov and Boris Nedkov (eds), *Turski izvori za balgarskata istoriya*, Sofia (1964), 358 (text), 291–2 (facsimile).
- 3 M. M. İlhan, *Amid (Diyarbakır): 1518 Tarihli Defter-i Mufassal*, Ankara (2000), 340 (text), 103 (facsimile); 344 (text), 105 (facsimile).
- 4 Todorov and Nedkov, *Turski izvori*, 366, 384, 406, 406, 420.
- 5 H. Šabanović, *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića*, Sarajevo (1964), 31, 97, 98, 100, 84.
- 6 Bařbakanlık Ottoman Archives, Istanbul, Kamil Kepei 223.
- 7 Halil Inalcık, *Fatih Devri Uzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, Ankara (1954), 169–70, pl. X.
- 8 Kamil Kepei, ‘Bursa’da řer ı mahkeme sicillerinden ve muhtelif arřiv kayıtlarından toplanan tarihi bilgiler ve vesikalar’, *Vakıflar Dergisi*, 2 (1942), 406, document II.
- 9a British Museum, MS Or. 11194, D 13.
- 9b British Museum, MS Or. 11194, D 17.
- 9c British Museum, MS Or. 11194, C 12.
- 9d British Museum, MS Or. 11194, C 13.
- 9e British Museum, MS Or. 11194, C 17.

⁸⁴ *Silihdar* (‘weapons bearer’): a member of the corps of *silihdars*, one of the six divisions (*altu boluk*) of the sultan’s household cavalry.

⁸⁵ That is, service in the palace.

⁸⁶ *Dil* (‘tongue’): a prisoner retained as an informant.

⁸⁷ *Ibtida* (‘beginning’): an initial grant of a *tımar*.

⁸⁸ The campaign of the Two Iraq (1534–6).

9f British Museum, MS Or. 11194, C 18.

9g British Museum, MS Or. 11194, C 22.

9h British Museum, MS Or. 11194, C 23.

10 İbrāhīm Peçevî, *Tarīhi Peçevî*, Istanbul (1283/1866), 1, 87–8, writing in his old age in 1640.

The Religio-legal Institution

SECTION 1 LAW AND RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

Sunnī Islam recognises four schools of law: the Ḥanafī, Shāfiʿī, Mālikī and Ḥanbalī. While the doctrines of each school do not differ widely one from the other, each school developed its own juristic tradition with legal practitioners basing their judgements on the works of authoritative figures within the tradition of the school to which they belonged. There were adherents of all four schools in the various provinces of the empire, but the Ottomans always gave precedence to the Ḥanafī. Passages **1a**, **b** and **c** represent three genres of Ḥanafī juristic writing: an abridgement (*mukhtaṣar*), a commentary (*sharḥ*) and a textbook arranging and presenting the law in the form of cases (*fatāwā*), respectively.¹ Such texts would form the basis of legal education in a *medrese*.

The primacy of the Ḥanafī School became firmly established during the reign of Süleymān I (r. 1520–66). He went to the extent of forbidding *kāḍīs* in Anatolia and Rumelia from giving judgements that follow *shāfiʿī* rules, even in cases where Ḥanafī jurists specifically allow the practice, as seen in passage **2**. The prohibition mirrors a general movement in the mid-sixteenth century to impose uniformity and orthodoxy in law and religious practice. Like his predecessor Kemālpaşazāde (in office 1526–34), the *mufī* of Istanbul Ebūʿs-suʿūd (in office 1545–74) attempted to explain Ottoman land-tenure and taxation in Islamic terms, as demonstrated in passages **3**, **4** and **5**. He also used legal fictions to prevent the political and social upheaval which an over-strict interpretation of the *sharīʿa* might have caused, as evident in passages **6** and **7**. At the same time, passages **8**, **9** and **10** indicate that there was a parallel movement towards the establishment of conformity in religious belief and practice.

This had become a vital issue since the rise of the Safavid dynasty in Iran early in the century. The Safavid shahs were heads of a religious order that claimed many adherents among the sultan’s subjects. Known as *kızılbaş* (‘red-heads’) from their distinctive head-gear, these maintained contact with the shah through their local leaders (*ḥalīfes*), and the Ottoman authorities sought to control them by maintaining a network of informers and actively persecuting their communities, as evident from passages **11**, **12**, **13** and **14**.

¹ *Fatāwā* is the plural form of *fatwā*. However, as an element in the title of a formal juristic work (for instance, *Fatāwā Qāḍīkhān*, *Fatāwā Hindīya*) the term indicates the format of the book, and not that it is a collection of *fatwās*.

1 Passages on the law of sale from Ḥanafī legal texts

1a From *al-Matn of al-Qudūrī* (d. 1037)

Sale is contracted by an offer and acceptance when both are expressed in the past tense. When one of the contracting parties accepts, the other has the choice: he may accept it in the session, or he may reject it. If either of them leaves before the acceptance, the offer is invalid. If either of them leaves the session, the offer is nullified. When there has been both an offer and an acceptance, the sale is binding and neither party has the option to retract, unless there is a defect [in the goods] or [the purchaser] has not seen them.

1b From *al-Ikhtiyār fī ta'īl al-Mukhtār of al-Mūṣilī* (d. 1284)

[Sale] in law is the exchange of goods with a market-value against goods with a market-value, [with one party] transferring ownership [and the other party] taking possession. If [the transfer of the property] is the transfer [not of ownership but] of the benefits, only then it is lease or marriage [and not sale]; if it is gratuitous, it is a gift . . . (Sale is contracted with two expressions in the past tense [such as when] one says: 'I have bought' and [the other] says: 'I have sold'),² because it is a declaration (*inshā'*), and in all contracts the law regards notification (*ikhbār*) as a declaration, by which a contract is concluded. The past tense [is also used] because it implies an offer and its conclusion, whereas [the use of the present or] future tense [may imply] a readiness, a command or delegation. [Sale] is therefore concluded [using] the past tense . . .

1c From *al-Fatāwā of Qādīkhān* (d. 1195)

(a) If [a person] sells a stone as a ruby when it is glass; or points to a slave and says: 'I have sold you this male slave' and it is a female slave, the sale is void, because they are different categories, so this is a sale of [something that is] non-existent. Similarly, if [a person] buys something from a man against a debt which [the vendor] owes him, and they know that he does not owe him a debt, then [the sale] is void . . .

(b) A man sells something in a lawful sale and defers payment until after the harvest and threshing. In the opinion of Abū Ḥanīfā, the sale is defective. But in the opinion of Muḥammad [al-Shaybānī], the deferral is valid, because postponement after the sale was voluntary. [The vendor] accepted the deferral for an unspecified period. It is as if the purchaser were a guarantor for a certain sum until the harvest or threshing . . .

2 A *fatwā* on the application of Shāfi'ī doctrine

If Hind, whose husband has disappeared and has no means of sustenance, appeals to Shāfi'ī doctrine, and if a Shāfi'ī *kādī* separates (*tefrīk*) her and allows her to marry another husband, and if Zeyd then re-appears, can he take her back as his wife?

² The passage in parentheses is a quotation from the author's own work, *al-Mukhtār*, on which *al-Ikhtiyār* is a commentary.

Answer: No (Aḥmed).³

Another answer: A prohibition has been made by the sultan: ‘Shāfi’ī doctrine is not to be current in the lands of Rūm’⁴ (Ebū’s-su’ūd).

3 A *fatwā* on acquiring land for a new mosque construction

If the old mosque in a town falls into ruin, and if Zeyd seeks permission to build another in its place, and if, after permission is granted, Zeyd wishes to build a larger one because the population is more numerous but the old site is too small, may Zeyd build on another site near it?

Answer: Not without the sultan’s permission. But if the old site is too small because there are houses around it, it is legal (*meṣrū*) to make a compulsory purchase of those houses for their [proper] price.

4 A *fatwā* on taxing land occupied by descendants of the Prophet

Is it legally essential that descendants of the Prophet⁵ should, like other *re’āyā*, pay the *çiftlik*-taxes⁶ for the land which they occupy?

Answer: Yes. Those taxes appertain to the land, not to the person who occupies it.

5 A *fatwā* on a *kādī* granting unauthorised tax exemptions

If the *kādī* Zeyd, who is carrying out a survey of a district (*vilāyet*) at the sultan’s command, and is not authorised to enregister various *dhimmīs* as exempt (*müsellem*), nevertheless enregisters some of them as exempt from *jizya* and ‘*avāriż-i ’örfiye*’⁷ and gives them a certificate (*temessük*) to this effect, what must be done to Zeyd?

Answer: If they are not crippled or poor, he must be dismissed; but if they are, he has acted according to the *sharī’a* and nothing is to be done.⁸

6 A *fatwā* on Rumelian *kādīs* issuing *hüccets*

Kādīs in Rūmeli issue *hüccets* [confirming] the validity of the sale, purchase, deposit, loan, pre-emption and exchange of land in the possession of *re’āyā* there and enter [the transactions] in their *sicills*. Does this accord with the noble *sharī’a*?

³ ‘Aḥmed’ is the *ṣeyḥü’l-İslām* Kemālpaşazāde (d. 1536) who issued the original *fatwā*. The supplementary answer is by Ebū’s-su’ūd.

⁴ Although Ḥanafī law did not permit a deserted wife to seek a legal separation from her husband, Ḥanafī jurists permitted her to go to a Shāfi’ī *kādī* to seek a separation. However, in a decree from the early 1540s, Sultan Süleymān removed the right of his Ḥanafī subjects to have recourse to a Shāfi’ī *kādī*, hence Ebū’l-Su’ūd’s answer. ‘The lands of Rūm’ refer to Anatolia and Rumelia.

⁵ Persons claiming descent from the Prophet (*seyyids*) could claim fiscal and other privileges. The government was anxious to prevent the proliferation of such claims and of the privileges that attended them.

⁶ *Çift[lik]*-tax: the annual tax due on a peasant tenement (*çift[lik]*).

⁷ A *dhimmī* is a non-Muslim subject of an Islamic sovereign, paying a poll-tax (*jizya*) in return for legal protection of life, limb and property. ‘*Avāriż-i ’örfiye*’ (‘customary incidentals’) are extraordinary taxes, levied originally in times of war.

⁸ The disabled and the elderly were exempt from taxation.

Answer: It is contrary [to the *sharī'a*]. The only thing that is taken into account (*i'tibār*) is the *sipāhīs*' granting [the land] by *tapu*. For *kādīs* to write 'sale' and 'purchase' is erroneous. They must write: 'Zeyd, having assigned (*tefvīz*) to 'Amr the possession (*taşarruf*) of the fields of which he has possession, and having received the sum of so much in return, and having ceded [his claim], the *sipāhī* Bekr received a [*tapu*] tax (*resm*) of so much and gave it to 'Amr'.⁹

7 A *fatwā* on *sipāhīs* taking a tithe

If the *sipāhī* Zeyd takes 2 *kīle* in 15 as tithe ('*öşr*) is that *halāl* by the *sharī'a*?

Answer: To call what the *sipāhī* takes '*öşr*' arises from ignorance. If it were '*öşr*' it would be given to the poor. It is *harāc-i muķāseme*, which does not have to be taken at one in ten; it is imposed according to the productivity of the land, and it is permissible for it to be up to the half.¹⁰

8 A *fatwā* on Muslim villagers neglecting prayer

If, in some Muslim villages, there is no mosque at all and the inhabitants do not pray as a congregation, must the *kādī* force them to build mosques and punish (*ta'zīr*) those who [then] neglect the prayer?

Answer: Yes. Strict commands (*hüküm*) were written in the year 944 (1537–8) to the governors (*vülāt*) of the Well-protected Domains to oblige the inhabitants of such villages to build mosques and to attend prayer regularly, and action must be taken in accordance with the command.¹¹

9 A *fatwā* on money fines for neglecting prayer

If a *kādī* punishes with a fine (*ta'zīr bi'l-māl*) those who neglect the prayer, is the money which he takes licit (*halāl*) to the *kādī*?

Answer: No. After some time, when [the culprit] has resumed attending the prayer, the money must be given back to him.¹²

⁹ In the Ottoman Empire, land could not be held as private property. The normal way to gain a title (*tapu*) to the land was by payment of *tapu*-tax to the *sipāhī*. Nonetheless, peasants and others did buy and sell land among themselves, and Ebū's-su'ūd was trying to regularise the practice. In recording such 'sales', the *kādīs* were forbidden to use any term denoting sale or purchase, but instead ordered to use the term 'consignment' (*tefvīz*), and the transaction was complete only after the new occupant of the land had paid the *tapu*-tax to the *sipāhī*.

¹⁰ The question is whether a tithe ('*öşr*) is legal when it is levied at a rate of more than 10 percent. The answer justifies taking the tax at a higher rate on the grounds that what the Ottomans called '*öşr*' was not to be equated with the tithe (*'ushr*) of Islamic law, but rather the Islamic *harāc-i muķāseme*, a tax on crops levied at a rate of up to 50 percent according to the productivity of the soil.

¹¹ Non-attendance at prayer would identify a person as a heretic, and specifically as a *kızılbaş*. Compulsory attendance at congregational prayers in a mosque would help maintain the outward forms of orthodox Muslim worship.

¹² In Ḥanafī doctrine, the term *ta'zīr* has the sense of 'discretionary punishment', understood as strokes of the lash. Ḥanafī jurists were very reluctant to admit to the legality of money fines (*ta'zīr bi'l-māl*). When they do so, they require the money to be returned after the culprit has reformed. Ebū's-Su'ūd is here following the prescription of Ḥanafī jurists rather than common Ottoman practice.

10 A *fatwā* on executing a repentant heretic *ṣeyḥ*

[From a series of answers to a persistent questioner on the legal reasons for executing a heretic (*zindīk*) *ṣeyḥ* who had repented:]

Answer: The repentance of a heretic is acceptable if he repented before he was arrested . . . It is true that, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, the obligation to kill him lapses, but according to the other *imāms*¹³ he remains [even after repentance] exactly as he was. The *kāḏīs* of the Well-Protected Domains are ordered and authorised¹⁴ to pay no regard to the repentance of those who show contempt in matters of religion, but to sentence them to death in accordance with the rulings of the other *imāms* . . . [But the *kāḏī* is a Ḥanafī . . .] According to Abū Ḥanīfa, what lapses through repentance is the obligation to kill him, not the lawfulness of killing him.

11 Command to the *sancakbegi* of Amasya

It has been reported that: ‘In the *kaḏā* of Budaḳözi the man known as Süleymān Faḳīh is one of the *ḥalīfes*¹⁵ from ‘up there’:¹⁶ he co-operates and mixes with various heretics (*mülhid*) and trouble-makers (*müfsid*), who are so-called *ḥalīfes*, and persistently leads the people astray’. I have commanded that you are secretly to track down this Süleymān and his followers, and if indeed they are *ḥalīfes* from up there and are people of *küfr* and *ilhād*¹⁷ and are behaving contrary to the *sharī‘a*, then, with the cognizance of the local *kāḏī*, you adroitly are to seize them: without revealing it to anyone,¹⁸ you are to take them secretly to the Kızıl Irmaḳ and drown them. Alternatively, if it is appropriate to do so, charge them with theft and banditry and punish them. 22 Rabī I 976 (14 September 1568)

12 Command to the *sancakbegi* of Amasya, İlyās beg

You have reported as follows: ‘In accordance with the decree, something was proven against those belonging to ‘up there’: they were seized and dealt with by night, without anyone knowing about it . . . Some mischief-makers have fled to other *sancaḳs*; the sending of decrees is requested, ordering the *begs* and *kāḏīs* to surrender them when asked and to search for them if they have disappeared . . . Now I have every confidence in your uprightness. You have shown great shrewdness in dealing with these troublemakers. You have done well . . . Decrees have been sent to the *sancakbegis* and *kāḏīs* of Çorum, Kastamonu and Kangırı,¹⁹ for them to hand over, without argument, bandits who have fled to other *sancaḳs*. I have commanded that you are to attend to this in person. If in your *sancak* there are people against whom it is proven

¹³ Although the opinions of Abū Ḥanīfa were, in principle, the most authoritative, the Ḥanafī school recognised the validity of alternative views attributed to other jurists within the school. This gave the executive authorities a range of opinions from which to choose. The answer here is deliberately vague in not stating which of the Ḥanafī *imams* did not recognise the repentance of heretics.

¹⁴ That is, ordered by the sultan.

¹⁵ *Ḥalīfe* (‘follower’): here, a representative of the Safavid shah.

¹⁶ ‘Up there’ (*yuḳarı cānib*): the territory of the Safavid dynasty, Iran.

¹⁷ *Küfr*: unbelief; *ilhād*: heresy.

¹⁸ That is, the *kāḏī* is not to enter the case into his *sicill*.

¹⁹ Çankırı.

according to the *sharī'a* that, being heretics, they have caused *fesād*,²⁰ you are to seize and punish them according to the *sharī'a* . . . You are to act with discretion and not disturb people who are causing no trouble. This is a matter of the first importance, and you are to waste no time. 13 Jumādā II 976 (3 November 1568).

13 To the *sancakbegi* of Kastamonu and the *kādī* of Küre

You have reported: 'The preacher (*ḥaṭīb*) Mehmed, known as Etmekçi-oğlu, is a notorious heretic, outside the *madhhab*²¹ of Islam, who denies the Four Friends.²² He speaks improperly of the Qur'ān . . . The 'ulemā and imāms and *ḥaṭībs* and the populace of Küre in general have lodged this complaint: 'He is notorious for heresy. He has been registered frequently. The [local] *mufīṭ* has given a *fatwā* sanctioning his killing. He must be done away with. The *çavuş* [. . .] has been sent to make an investigation. I have commanded that you are to attend to this personally . . . If it is proven according to the *sharī'a* that this *ḥaṭīb* indeed spoke as has been reported, you are to imprison him and to send a written report, together with copies of the register entries. Then you are to act in accordance with the orders which you will receive. 11 Rabī'u'l-awwal 976 (3 September 1576).

14 To the *kādī* of Niksar

My *kādī'asker*²³ has made this submission: You sent to the *dīvān* by the hand of Mevlānā²⁴ Seyyid Muṣṭafā a letter and a legal decision (*ḥüküm*) stating that Erdivan, the *şeyḥ* of the *zāviye* of Matayı in your *każā*, Çıraç, 'Alī and others are *kızılbaş* and *rāfiżīs*:²⁵ a decree was sent ordering an investigation, but when they were summoned to the court they disappeared: because the Erzman brothers were already listed in the register of *kızılbaş*, the *beglerbegi* executed them: and disinterested Muslims have reported that these others have disappeared. Having ordered that 'the appropriate authorities should find them and they be sent to the galleys',²⁶ I have commanded that you should make those whose duty it is to find them, find and arrest them, and you should carefully and with justice examine their cases. If what you have reported is proven and evident according to the noble *sharī'a*, you should send them, together with a copy of the *sicills* recording the case, to my threshold of felicity,²⁷ in the custody of trustworthy men, so that they may be placed in the galleys. You should give a strong warning to the men in whose custody you are sending them, to be careful not to allow them to escape. However, the

²⁰ *Fesād*: trouble; corruption.

²¹ *Madhhab*: doctrine.

²² 'Four Friends': the four Orthodox Caliphs, the successors to the Prophet Muhammad. The *kızılbaş* did not recognise the caliphates of the first three Orthodox Caliphs, Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān.

²³ *Kādī asker* (Arabic: 'military judge'): one of the two senior *kādīs* in the Ottoman Empire. The *kādī'askers* of Rumelia and Anatolia each had a seat in the imperial *dīvān* and dealt with the legal affairs of the European and Asian provinces, respectively.

²⁴ *Mevlānā* (Arabic: 'our lord'): a title of a *kādī*.

²⁵ *Rāfiżī* (Arabic): a heretic.

²⁶ Service on the galleys was imposed on 'those guilty of a serious crime, but not meriting capital punishment'. The number of criminals sent to the galleys depended on the requirements of the fleet at any one time. This order was issued during the war of Cyprus (1570–3) which created a heavy demand for galley service.

²⁷ That is, Istanbul.

investigation is to be strictly proper (*tamām ḥakḳ üzre*), and you are to be very careful not to act in any way contrary to the *sharī'a*. 24 Sha bān 980 (30 December 1572).

SECTION 2 THE ADMINISTRATION OF LAW

Although Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire enjoyed some legal autonomy in intra-communal affairs, Islamic law applied to all subjects of the Ottoman Empire. Passages 1 and 2 give witness that the Islamic courts were open to both Muslims and non-Muslims, and their use was compulsory in cases involving both a Muslim and a Christian or Jew, as is clear from passages 3 and 4. As in other Islamic realms, the two figures most essential to the administration and enforcement of the law were the *kāḍī* and the *muftī*, as is evident throughout the extracted text passages.

Kāḍīs were appointees of the ruler, from whom they derived their authority, and acted both as judges in disputed cases and as notaries, recording each transaction in their *sicills* as it occurred.²⁸ *Sicill*-entries reflect many aspects of socio-economic life in the Ottoman Empire, including financial transactions (see passages 3, 4 and 5), family matters (see passages 6 and 7), complaints about goods (see passages 8, 9 and 10), payment of dues and taxes (see passages 11 and 12) and ownership claims (see passage 13). Passages 14 and 15 demonstrate that, in criminal cases and cases of affray, the *kāḍīs* shared their duties with the secular authorities – particularly *sancaḳbegis* and *subaşıs* – who were responsible for administering punishments after the *kāḍī* had established and recorded the facts of the case. Parties to litigation or notarial transactions would receive a written record (*hüccet*) of the proceedings, as exemplified in passages 1 and 2. In addition to their judicial and notarial duties, Ottoman *kāḍīs* also functioned as administrators in their judicial district, usually acting in response to sultanic decrees, copies of which appear in their *sicills*, like in passages 16 and 17.

In contrast to the judgements issued by *kāḍīs*, which carried the authority both of the *sharī'a* and of the sultan, the *fatwās* issued by *muftīs* were not decrees: for a *fatwā* to come into effect, it required enforcement by a *kāḍī* or other executive authority. A *muftī* is simply a recognised expert in the law, and a *fatwā* is an authoritative answer to any question put to the *muftī*, who is supposedly independent of any secular power and responds to queries solely on the basis of the *sharī'a*. The power of *fatwās*, therefore, derives from the authority of the *sharī'a* and the standing of the *muftī*. In much of the Islamic world recognition as a *muftī* was an informal matter, and *muftīs* had no official status as such.

While this may be true of some provincial *muftīs* in the Ottoman Empire, during the course of the sixteenth century the *muftī* of Istanbul – known from late in the century as the *şeyḫü'l-islām* – became the head of the Ottoman *ulemā* and, in practice, a senior figure in the government. The growing importance of the office owed much to the abilities, long tenure and closeness to the sultan of Ebū's-su'ūd (in office 1545–74) (see passages 2–10 in SECTION 1 above, as well as 18–37 below). It was open to anyone, from the humblest members of the public to the sultan himself to ask questions of the

²⁸ *Sicill* (Latin: *sigillum*, via Arabic; *sijill*) in Ottoman usage can refer either to a *kāḍī*'s register, or to a single entry in such a register.

şeyhü'l-islām, and the subject matter of his *fatwās* ranges from the mundane to matters of state, as one can observe in passages 37–41. However, as *fatwās* supposedly had universal validity, their protagonists – even if well-known in reality – are always cloaked in anonymity.

1 A *hüccet* on repairs to a monastery on Mount Athos

He!²⁹

[note 1] This business was transacted before me. Signed: the humble Seyyid Velī b. Meḥmed, *mevlā*³⁰ in the *każā*³¹ of Sidrekapsı.³²

[note 2] The matter is as it is set out and the affair as it is written. Signed: the humblest of God's servants Meḥmed b. Kāsim el-Cemālī, *kādī* in the city of Selānik,³³ authorised by the command of the bearer of authority (may his Caliphate be eternal) to supervise the *waqf* estates (?).

[note 3] When this document was presented to me, I found it consonant with the *sharī'a*, so I read it over and signed it. I, the humble 'Abdü'l-Kādir b. Bahā'ü'd-Dīn . . . *mevlā* in the *każā* of Sidrekapsı.

The reason for the writing of the document is this, that the monks Alexi and Papa-Maximo of the monastery Dionysiou, one of the monasteries of Mount Athos, came and said: 'The tower before the door of this monastery has become very ruinous and is very dangerous to our monastery. Grant permission (*icāzet*) for its repair'. Therefore, I went in person and inspected it and saw that it is indeed extremely dangerous. Permission has been granted for it to be rebuilt on the old site to a length of 15 *kulaç*³⁴ and a breadth of 5½ *kulaç*, in five storeys. At their request, this certificate has been written and given to them, for them to produce as evidence (*ihticāc*) in time of need. This business was transacted and [the document] written on 1 Rabī' I 926 (20 February 1520).

Witnesses:

Meḥmed Çelebi b. Sinān, the *emīn* and Hoca Şırmerd b. Abdullāh and Ibrāhīm b. Hızr and Rüstem b. Abdullāh and Muştafā b. Ilyās

2 A *hüccet* on returning a defective slave-girl to the vendor

El-Hācc Aḥmed son of 'Abdu'llāh made a statement of [his] plaint in the court of the noble *sharī'a*, in the presence of [Şa'bān]: 'A month before the date of [this] document I bought from the said Şa'bān for 31 gold ducats, on condition that she be free from all defects, this slave-girl of medium height, so-and-so. I paid the said sum against payment and receipt. I have now noticed that the said slave-girl has two molar teeth missing, [one] on the right and [one]

²⁹ 'He!' (Arabic: *huwa*): God. This invocation of the Almighty appears at the head of Ottoman documents.

³⁰ *Mevlā* ('lord'): title used by *kādīs*.

³¹ *Każā*: a *kādī*'s judicial and administrative district.

³² The mine and mint to the east of Thessaloniki. Greek: Siderokaúsia.

³³ Salonica, Thessaloniki.

³⁴ *Kulaç*: fathom. A measure of depth, probably about 1.83m.

on the left of her bottom jaw. This must have happened before I purchased her. If this should cause a reduction in market-price, I seek her return on account of the defect'.³⁵

When the said Şa'bān was examined, he replied: 'I did, in fact, sell this slave-girl to the said plaintiff with the aforementioned defect, for 31 gold ducats and received payment. Furthermore, he saw and accepted her with that defect'. He acknowledged that the said slave-girl was already disfigured with the aforementioned defect when she was with him.

The said El-Ḥācc Aḥmed denied in his presence that he had accepted [her] with the aforementioned blemish. Evidence was then sought conformable to his plaint against the said vendor. When [the defendant] acknowledged that he was incapable of producing definitive evidence, [the plaintiff] demanded that he swear an oath. When the said purchaser had also sworn by God that, at the time of purchase, he neither saw the blemish nor accepted her with it, an obligation arose and a warning was given that the said slave-girl be returned to the aforementioned vendor and the above mentioned sum be returned to the aforementioned customer.³⁶

[Before 1625].

3 A *sicill*-entry on the sale of a vacant site by a Muslim to a *dhimmī*

The same Ḥasan stated, in the presence of the *dhimmī*³⁷ Sarkis: 'I have given him for *tapu* the vacant site of some two paces [in breadth] adjoining his house in the quarter of Behlül and have received 10 *şāhīs*³⁸ as *resm-i tapu*.³⁹ Sarkis confirmed this. Noted.

4 A *sicill*-entry on a debt owed by a *dhimmī* to a Muslim

Creditor: Riḍvān b. 'Abdullāh: debtor: the *dhimmī* Baḥşī b. Ḥübyārī: sum: 115. So acknowledged by the debtor.

5 A *sicill*-entry on a money loan

Ḥāccī Ḥasan Çelebi summoned Bālī b. Ḥızr, saying: 'He borrowed 15 *şāhī* from me: now I demand this money'. Bālī replied that Ḥasan had been paid and said: 'Let him swear that he has not received it'. Ḥasan refused to take the oath.⁴⁰

6 A *sicill*-entry on the daughter of a recent convert

Mariam, the daughter of Şāhbula who recently embraced Islam, was brought to the court, she not having reached puberty. When she was asked, she said that she was not aware of having

³⁵ In Ḥanafī law, the buyer is entitled to return the goods and recover the price, if the goods do not conform to the vendor's description at the time of the sale.

³⁶ Definitive proof would have required two eyewitnesses to the sale. In the absence of such proof, the vendor swears an oath that he is telling the truth. The purchaser does the same, so the case is deadlocked. The *kādī*'s solution is to dissolve the sale.

³⁷ *Dhimmī*: a non-Muslim resident in the realms of Islam, enjoying the protection of the law.

³⁸ *Şāhī*: a large silver coin, worth 6–8 *aḳçe*, in use in the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

³⁹ *Tapu*: title to land or property. *Resm-i tapu*: *tapu*-tax, the fee payable to acquire title. The term *tapu* is often used by itself to refer to the fee.

⁴⁰ With his refusal to take the oath, Ḥasan lost the case.

reached puberty, so judgement was given that she was a Muslim by reason of dependence on her mother.

7 A *sicill*-entry on divorce and the legality of the wife's second marriage

Bālī b. Bāyezīd from the village of Saraycık complained in the presence of Timūr b. Mūsā: 'Some time ago, I was stricken with leprosy. This Timūr took away my wife Ƙutlu, together with goods of mine worth 30 ducats'. When Timūr was asked, he said: 'Bālī divorced her, and when her *'idda*⁴¹ was completed, I married her'. This has been noted. Muṣṭafā b. Ḥalīl and Ḥüseyn b. Muṣṭafā attended as witnesses and gave legal testimony, saying: 'Bālī divorced Ƙutlu and, when her *'idda* was completed, she was married to Timūr: she is now his legal wife'. Entered upon request.

8 A *sicill*-entry on cloth measuring short

Muṣṭafā, the market-inspector (*muḥtesib*) of Anḳara, summoned the *yürük* Ḥāccī Bālī b. Menteşe saying: 'This man's homespun (*ābā*) measures 11 *arşuns*,⁴² whereas it has from of old been the custom that it be 12'. It was measured, and indeed it proved to be 11. Entered upon request.⁴³

9 A *sicill*-entry on unsatisfactory goods

The baker Süleymān's bread [is] under-baked. The grocer Receb's weight [is] short. The fruit-seller Ḥasan's 300-*dirhem* weight [is] 10 *dirhem* short . . . Ḥāccī Aḥmed's soap [is] declared, with the cognizance of Muslims, to be no good. Ca'fer's buns [are] undercooked and short of fat . . .⁴⁴

10 A *sicill*-entry on a complaint by the weavers' guild

Şāh Meḥmed and Ḥāccī Meḥmed and other members of the guild (*tā'ife*) of weavers summoned Naşūḥ b. Saḳā and complained: 'Whenever cotton thread comes [on the market], Naşūḥ pays a higher price and buys it, leaving the other weavers without thread. From of old, when thread came, we would all buy it together and divide it up. We object to his action, which is contrary to the ancient custom'. Naşūḥ was warned that when thread comes, he is not to buy it just for himself, but it should be divided among them. He undertook to do this. So noted.

11 A *sicill*-entry on a smith not receiving his dues

The smith Muṣṭafā b. Meḥmed summoned his father Meḥmed and said: 'My father employed me, and I performed a lot of work for him, but he won't pay me my due'. Meḥmed denied that he had employed him. When Meḥmed was asked: 'For how much a day do you engage such a

⁴¹ *'Idda*: the period of three menstrual cycles during which a woman may not marry following a divorce.

⁴² *Arşun*: a unit of length, probably c68 cm.

⁴³ That is, entered at the request of the *muḥtesib* Muṣṭafā, in case of a repeated offence.

⁴⁴ A summary of the *muḥtesib*'s report.

person?’ he replied on oath: ‘Three *aḳçe* a day, or at the most four; not more’. Judgement was given for nine months’ pay.

12 A *sicill*-entry on the payment of tax on a slave-girl

The reason for the writing of this text is that Şa bān, who came by the ship of Mūsā Re’īs, has paid the tax⁴⁵ on the Russian girl who is his slave (description: space between eyebrows, dark blue eyes, gaps in upper teeth), and so has been given this certificate (*temessük*).

13 A *sicill*-entry on the ownership of sheep

Hasan *subaşı*, *emīn*⁴⁶ for strays (*yava*) and *beytü’l-māl*,⁴⁷ summoned Meḥmed b. Qara from the village of Ma’cūn, saying: ‘Some time ago, a certain man went off, leaving a number of sheep in Meḥmed’s care. The man has not shown up for a long time, and I claim those sheep’. When Meḥmed was asked, he said: ‘Hızr had only 2 sheep, and I bought these for 80 *aḳçe* each. They number 17, for they bred, but this was after the sale so that the extra ones are mine, too’.

14 A *sicill*-entry on a burglary

Hasan b. Receb of Anḳara town came to the court as a plaintiff, saying: ‘Muştafā b. Ustād ‘Alī entered my house last night and stole my property. As he was leaving, we heard him and got up and tied him up. He is still in my house, tied up. Let people come and see’. So Durmuş, the deputy (*kethüdā*) of the *sancaḳbegi*, and a number of disinterested Muslims went to Hasan’s house, and indeed Muştafā was lying there tied up, with various objects wrapped up in a rug beside him. This has been noted at the plaintiff’s request. Later, when Muştafā was asked about this, he replied: ‘This Hasan and Qaramānī Hasan, with their associates, seized me outside in the street and tied me up and forced me into the house’. When he was asked: ‘What about these objects [in the rug]?’ he replied: ‘They put them there’. Since a record of the evidence was requested, this has been noted.

With regard to the Muştafā mentioned in the above entry (*sicill*), it has been noted at the request of the *kethüdā*, that Muştafā was drunk and that his breath smelt of liquor.

15 A *sicill*-entry on a violent argument between father and son

Meḥmed b. ‘Abdu’llāh summoned his son Muştafā, saying: ‘My son beat me and tore my beard’ and produced some hairs of his beard. When Muştafā denied this, Hāccī Hūsām and Qazancıoğlu Muştafā, appearing as witnesses,⁴⁸ stated: ‘We saw them tearing at each other’s beards’.

⁴⁵ The *pencik* tax for bringing her into Anatolia, probably via Sinop. As a Russian, the girl had probably been captured by Tatar raiders and sold in the Crimea.

⁴⁶ *Emīn*: a salaried manager of an enterprise.

⁴⁷ *Beytü’l-māl* (‘public treasury’): here, unclaimed inheritances.

⁴⁸ The testimony of two male eyewitnesses is the normal standard of evidence. In this case, their evidence will override Muştafā’s denial.

16 A sicill-entry of a command to the *sancakbegis* and *kādīs* of Anaṭolı (abridged)⁴⁹

In the time of my late father,⁵⁰ a *kānūn* was issued, saying: ‘When a slave flees from the copper-mines, the reward (*müjdegānī*), wherever he may be caught, is to go to the man who catches him, and the slave is to be handed back; the *yavacı* and the *beytūlmālcı*⁵¹ are not to intervene. The maximum reward is 100 *aḳçe*: 30 for one day’s journey, 60 for two, 90 for three, and for any longer time, no more than 100.⁵² Even if, because of the cost of maintenance, the slave is sold when the due time is up, the sale is to be declared void, and the slave is to be returned, for the slaves in the mine belong to me. If this regulation is disobeyed, I shall not stop short of dismissing you . . .’ Now Maḥmūd Kethūdā, who is on the staff of the mines, has come to my Porte and produced that noble command, and so I have commanded that, as before, when a slave . . .

17 A sicill-entry of a command to the *kādī* and the inspector of *mukāṭa* ‘as⁵³

You reported that the citadel is in disrepair and that you, with expert builders, had inspected it and estimated the cost of repair at 30,000 *aḳçe*: you requested my command [to proceed]. This was submitted to the foot of my Throne on [. . .] and I ordered the repair at that cost. Therefore, I have commanded that you should have the citadel repaired to its former state, taking the estimated cost from the *mukāṭa* ‘as there. When the work is completed, you are to draw up the accounts and sign and seal them and send them to the Porte: and you are to give to the *emīn* of the *mukāṭa* ‘a from which the money was taken a certificate (*temessük*), so that the sum will be credited when he has to give his account. You are to take every precaution against extravagance, and to complete the work for less than the estimate if that is possible.

18 A *fatwā* on contracting marriage between minors

If Hind, without the permission of the *kādī*, states in the presence of several persons: ‘I have given my daughter Zeyneb, who is not of age, to my brother ‘Amr’s son Bekr, who is [also] not of age’, and if ‘Amr says: ‘I accept Zeyneb as a wife for Bekr’, has a marriage been contracted?

Answer: It has been ordered that it should be by permission of the judge (*ḥākim*).⁵⁴

⁴⁹ This and the following passage reproduce the texts of decrees received by the *kādī* and entered in his *sicill*.

⁵⁰ Selīm II.

⁵¹ The *yavacı* and the *beytūlmālcı* are the officials responsible for escaped slaves and unclaimed inheritances, respectively.

⁵² The rule that the reward for returning an escaped slave to his or her owner depended on the distance, measured in days, of the journey undertaken to return the slave derives from the *sharī‘a*.

⁵³ *Mukāṭa* ‘a: a specified bundle of revenues administered as a tax-farm.

⁵⁴ The Ḥanafī law of marriage requires a woman or an underage male to have the consent of a male guardian (*walī*), usually their father. Here, however, the girl’s guardian is her mother, hence the requirement for the judge to give his permission to the marriage. The judge is acting as the guardian in giving or withholding his consent.

19 A *fatwā* on the validity of contracting marriage without the *kādī*

Zeyd, without the cognizance of the *kādī*, marries his underage daughter to 'Amr's underage son in the presence of witnesses, and 'Amr accepts. Is the said marriage valid?

Answer: They are fully competent guardians. The *kādī* cannot fail to accept it.

20 A *fatwā* on re-marrying without intermediate marriage

What, according to the *sharī'a*, should happen to people who know that Zeyd took [his divorced wife] Hind without an intermediate marriage (*hulla*), but kept silence?

Answer: It should be reported to the authorities (*vülāt-i emr*).⁵⁵

21 A *fatwā* on giving customs money as *zakāt*

If the merchants give the money called 'customs' (*gümruk*) with the intention that it is *zakāt*, does it count as *zakāt*?

Answer: Yes.⁵⁶

22 A *fatwā* on giving alms

Given that Zeyd should give *zakāt* on his sheep, does the money that is taken in respect of them by the *mīrī*⁵⁷ count as *zakāt* on the sheep?

Answer: If he gives it with that intention, yes.

23 A *fatwā* on a preacher's statement about a *kādī*

If the preacher says: 'A *kādī* cannot be a Muslim, and a Muslim cannot be a *kādī*,' is his preaching permissible?

Answer: If he is referring specifically to the unjust *kādīs*, yes: if he is referring to *kādīs* in general, no.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ If a man divorces his wife with an irrevocable divorce, he may not re-marry her until she has contracted, consummated and been divorced from an intermediate marriage (*hulla*). The term which Ebū'-Su'ūd uses to denote the authorities echoes the Qur'ānic injunction: 'Oh ye who believe, obey God and obey the Apostle and those in authority (*ülū'l-amr*) from among you' (Qur'ān 4:62/59).

⁵⁶ *Zakāt* ('alms tax') is a canonical tax, the proceeds of which are for the support of the poor. The payment of *zakāt*, like prayer or fasting, is classified as an 'act of worship' (*ibāda*) and, to be valid as such in the eyes of God, must be made with 'sincere intention' (*niyya*). In practice, *zakāt* was never actually levied and to describe customs as *zakāt* is a legal fiction. The revenues from customs (Turkish: *gümruk*, from Greek: *kommerkion*) were not destined to the poor and were clearly not *zakāt*, but by saying that their payment was given with 'sincere intention', the merchants could claim that what they paid was indeed *zakāt*.

⁵⁷ *Mīrī* ('pertaining to the ruler'): the treasury.

⁵⁸ In insulting *kādīs*, who administered the *sharī'a*, a person is insulting Islam itself. In doing so, he becomes an infidel and, to return to Islam, must undergo a ceremony of 'renewal of faith'. A preacher who had become an infidel in this way could not continue to preach.

24 A *fatwā* on the testimony of foreign merchants (*ḥarbī*) against a *dhimmi*

If *ḥarbīs*⁵⁹ who have come with *amān*⁶⁰ testify on a certain matter against the *dhimmi* 'Amr, and if they have certificates from the sultan stating that the testimony of *ḥarbīs* against *dhimmi*s is not to be heard, is their testimony acceptable?

Answer: Certainly not. It was ignorant clerks who wrote that clause into their '*ahdnames*'.⁶¹ There can be no decree of the sultan ordering something that is illegal according to the *sharī'a*.

25 A *fatwā* on a Christian woman's charitable endowment

If the Christian woman Hind, being in sound health, has made an endowment (*waqf*) of her house and garden, which she owned, to the monks of a church for them to recite the Gospel, and if she has handed over [the property] to an administrator and has had the endowment legally registered [by the *kādī*] and the deed of endowment (*waqfiya*) has been written and [the terms of the endowment] are being carried out; and if then after ten years her heirs, who had been in another place, present themselves and refuse to accept the *waqf*, can they annul it?

Answer: If the monks are all poor, a *waqf* for their benefit is valid. The condition of reciting the Gospel is a nullity (*laḡv*). If they are not poor, it is not valid, and the registration was illegal: the heirs may annul it and divide [the estate among themselves].⁶²

26 A *fatwā* on the Ottoman conquest of Istanbul and its surroundings

Did the late Sultan Meḥmed [II] conquer Istanbul and the villages around it by force (*'anwatan*)?

Answer: It is generally accepted that he did. But the fact that the old churches were allowed to remain indicates conquest by composition (*ṣulḥ*). This matter was investigated in the year 945 (1538/9). A man aged 117 and another one aged 130 were found, and they testified before the investigating commissioner: The Jews and Christians made a secret agreement with Sultan Meḥmed that they would not assist the [Byzantine] Emperor and Sultan Meḥmed did not enslave them but left them as they were, and that is how the city was conquered'. In view of this testimony, the old churches have remained as they were.⁶³

⁵⁹ A *ḥarbī* is a non-Muslim normally resident in the *dāriū 'l-ḥarb* ('the abode of war'), the lands outside the realms of Islam. Here it certainly refers to foreign merchants bringing a claim against a non-Muslim resident of the Ottoman Empire. A *dhimmi* is a non-Muslim resident in the realms of Islam, enjoying the protection of the law.

⁶⁰ *Amān*: here, 'safe-conduct'.

⁶¹ *Ahdnāme*: a treaty, letter of agreement bestowing a privilege.

⁶² A *waqf* in support of a 'false religion' – here, Christianity – is invalid. However, a *waqf* in support of 'the poor' of any religion is valid. The woman must therefore prove that the monks she is supporting are 'poor' and that the *waqf* is not intended to support the recitation of the Gospel.

⁶³ Islamic jurists made a distinction between places which the Muslim conquerors had taken by force (*'anwatan*) and those which they had taken by composition (*ṣulḥ*). In the second case, non-Muslims were permitted to retain their places of worship; in the first case they were not. This rule had never been observed in practice, but, in the late 1530s, Çivizāde Muḥiyü'd-Dīn Meḥmed who assumed the office of *ṣeyḫü 'l-islām* in 1539 attempted to impose a regime of strict orthodoxy in this and other matters. By producing two 'eyewitnesses' to the conquest of Istanbul in 1453, Ebū's-su'ūd was able to 'prove' that the city had been conquered by composition and that the churches and synagogues in the city could therefore legally remain as they were.

27 A *fatwā* on slaves purchasing slaves of their own

When the sultan, without manumitting him, sends his slave (*'abd-i memlūk*) Zeyd out of the palace with a stipend, is it permissible for Zeyd to purchase a slave-girl and enjoy (*taṣarruf*) her?

Answer: It is not possible.⁶⁴

28 A *fatwā* on the sultan's slaves contracting marriages

Can the slaves (*kul*) whom the Sultan of the Muslims has taken for *pencik*⁶⁵ contract a valid marriage without the sultan's permission?

Answer: No.⁶⁶

29 A *fatwā* on a *kādī* acting outside his jurisdiction

If a *kādī* who, in accordance with [the sultan's] order acting as an inspector (*müfettiş*) in another *każā*,⁶⁷ hears and adjudicates matters other than those prescribed in the order, is his decision valid?

Answer: No.

30 A *fatwā* on the dismissal of a debauched *kādī*

If the *kādī* Zeyd goes to a musical wedding and sits down with debauchees at an immoral party; and if 'Amr seeks a *fatwā* asking: 'What must be done to the *kādī* Zeyd?' and the answer is: 'Such a man is not fit to be *kādī*'; and if 'Amr shows Zeyd the *fatwā* and Zeyd holds on to it and refuses to give it back and says: 'I am a *kādī* not on the strength of a *fatwā* but by the *berāt*⁶⁸ of the sultan', and so shows contempt for the *fatwā*, what must be done according to the *sharī'a*?

Answer: By his earlier behaviour he is dismissed and his decisions have no validity; he was granted the sultan's *berāt* in the belief that he was of good character (*'ādil*); when later his debauched behaviour became apparent, he loses his office. Even if his evil behaviour had been known beforehand and the *berāt* had nonetheless been granted, though he were not dismissed, he would deserve it. But by his contempt of a legal decision (*hükmi-şer'i*), he becomes an infidel; and if he does not return to Islam, he is to be killed.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ A slave cannot own property and therefore cannot buy another slave. Anything a slave purchases is technically the property of that slave's owner. Here the questioner equates a salaried slave (*kul*) of the sultan with a slave (*'abd*), as defined in Islamic law.

⁶⁵ *Pencik*: the share of prisoner-of-war coming to the sultan. See Chapter III.

⁶⁶ Slaves require the permission of their owners to marry.

⁶⁷ A *każā* is a *kādī*'s judicial district.

⁶⁸ *Berāt*: a diploma of appointment by the sultan. See Chapter III.

⁶⁹ Not to recognise the authority of a *fatwā* amounts to a repudiation of the authority of the *sharī'a*, making the *kādī* an infidel. His debauched behaviour, in itself, is not legal grounds for his dismissal. However, as an infidel, if he wishes to avoid being executed, he must undergo the procedure for a 'renewal of faith'.

31 A *fatwā* on the death of a falsely accused person after wrongful torture

If the Jew Zeyd, alleging that ‘Amr has stolen his property, gets the *sancaḳbegi* to torture (‘*örf*) ‘Amr, and if ‘Amr dies a week or so later, and if then those who really stole the property are discovered, what must be done to Zeyd and [the torturer] Bekr?

Answer: The torturer must pay blood-money (*diyyet*), and Zeyd must suffer severe *ta‘zīr* and long imprisonment.⁷⁰

32 A *fatwā* on extortionate loan transactions

If Zeyd carries out [loan] ‘transactions’ at 12 or 13 or more for 10,⁷¹ and if testimony is given that: ‘In our day the sultan’s command and the *fatwās* of the *şeyḫü’l-islāms* are to the effect that money is not to be lent at more than 11½ for 10’, and if he pays no heed but persists, what must be done?⁷²

Answer: Severe *ta‘zīr* and long imprisonment. He can be released when his repentance is manifest.

33 A *fatwā* on tax income for *sipāhīs*

Are the eighths which the *sipāhīs* take from the produce of *arż-i mīrī*⁷³ and the money they take under the name of ‘*çift-tax*’ and the tax on bachelors and on sheep and on bees and the *tapu-tax* licit [income] (*ḥalāl*) for *sipāhīs*?

Answer: The sheep-tax is the *zakāt* on sheep, and it is not forbidden (*ḥarām*) to a person not possessing 200 *dirhems*. The bee-tax is the tithe on honey, and that too is not *ḥarām* to a poor man. Except for what is taken from a Muslim who has no land, they are not *ḥarām* to a rich man either.⁷⁴

34 A *fatwā* on tax income, including in kind, for *sipāhīs*

Are the 5 *kīle* in 40 of the crops of the *re‘āyā*, and the *çift-tax* of 22 *aḳçe*, and the 6 *aḳçe* from bachelors and the 9 from married men, and the tithe on hives and the bride-tax, all of which Zeyd the *sipāhī* takes, licit?

Answer: When one-eighth has customarily been taken from of old, it is licit (*ḥalāl*). *Çift*-money of 22 *aḳçe* is also *ḥalāl*: in some places the rate is 57. If a bachelor or a married man

⁷⁰ In Ḥanafī law, in cases of homicide or injury, it is the person who is the immediate cause of the death or injury – in this case, the torturer – who pays the blood-money. However, in cases where the person was acting under orders, the authorities may, at their discretion, impose a punishment (*ta‘zīr*) on the person who gave the order, hence the *ta‘zīr* imposed on Zeyd.

⁷¹ That is, at 20 or 30 percent.

⁷² A sultanic decree had fixed the interest on loans at a maximum of 15 percent. Even though forbidden by Islamic law, lending money at interest was commonplace in the Ottoman Empire. This was a point of dispute between Çivizāde and Ebū’s-su ūd. See Chapter IX.

⁷³ *Arż-i mīrī*: land under the full control of the sultan, the revenues of which did not belong to private owners or *waqfs*.

⁷⁴ In this and the following queries, the questioner is concerned as to whether the taxes levied by *sipāhīs* on their *tīmārs* are licit according to the *sharī‘a*.

has no land, little or much, then there is no basis in the *sharī'a* for what is taken from them: that is the position with bride-tax, too. The giving of tithe on honey produced on tithe-land (*'öşrī yerde*) is obligatory (*lāzim*).

35 A *fatwā* on *bennāk* tax

Can an *emīn* take *bennāk*⁷⁵[tax] from the people of a village exempted by noble command from *tekālīf-i 'örfiye*?

Answer: If *bennāk*-money forms part of the *tekālīf-i 'örfiye*, no.⁷⁶

36 A *fatwā* on capitation tax (*ispençe*), grape tithe and taxes on pigs

Is the money called *ispençe*⁷⁷ which the *sipāhī* Zeyd takes from his *re'āyā ḥalāl*? And if, when the grapes are tithed, he takes one measure in seven, and if when they eat their pigs, he takes one *ağçe* on two pigs, is that *ḥalāl*?

Answer: What is taken on pigs is illegal (*nā-meşrū*).⁷⁸ But if the others have customarily been taken from of old, they are not to be changed.

37 A *fatwā* on a rebellious son of the sultan

If one of the sons of a just sultan departs from obedience and takes certain fortresses, laying imposts on the people by force and, if there being no other means to put down that fighting, people begin to fight against them, is it *ḥalāl* by the *sharī'a* to fight against them until their assembly is defeated and dispersed?

Answer: It is *ḥalāl*. This is clearly established by Qur'ānic text. It is the command of the *sharī'a*, and the consensus of the Companions⁷⁹ supports it. It is obligatory to strive to put down *fitne* and *fesād* by fighting (for those who are capable of fighting) and (for those not capable) by recitations and prayers.⁸⁰

38 A *fatwā* on those who lead the sultan astray

What, according to the *sharī'a*, must be done to those who lead the *pādişāh* of Islam astray, cause the *beytü'l-māl* to be squandered and, when it is not necessary for a *pādişāh* to make a Pilgrimage, provoke much *fitne*?

Answer: They who stir up *fitne* must be killed.⁸¹

⁷⁵ *Bennāk*: a peasant possessing less than half a *çift* of land.

⁷⁶ *Tekālīf-i 'örfiye* ('customary obligations'): extra-ordinary taxes.

⁷⁷ *Ispençe*: a capitation tax on adult males in Christian households, levied in lieu of *çift*-tax.

⁷⁸ Pigs are forbidden to Muslims and therefore of no commercial value. For this reason, the pig-tax contravened the *sharī'a*. This prohibition was never observed in practice.

⁷⁹ The Companions of the Prophet.

⁸⁰ This *fatwā* justifies Süleymān I's war against his rebel son Bāyezīd in 1558. *Fitne* has the sense of 'schism, dissension, chaos'; *fesād* has the sense of 'corruption'. Ebū's-su ūd is invoking Qur'ān 2:191, 2:217 ('*Fitna* is more grievous than killing') and Qurān 5:32 ('The reward of those who wage war against God and his Apostle and strive to act corruptly upon earth is that they shall be killed . . .').

⁸¹ *Fatwā* of the *şeyhü'l-islām* Es'ad Efendi legitimising the execution of the grand vizier Dilāver Pasha in 1622, on

39 A *fatwā* on deposing a sultan who disturbs order by accepting bribery

If a *pādiṣāh* has disturbed the good order of the world (*nizām-i ʿālem*) by granting posts in the learned and military professions not to the proper persons but, through bribery, to the unfitting, is it permissible (*cāʿiz*) to depose (*ḥalʿ*) him and remove (*izāle*) him?

Answer: Yes.⁸²

40 A *fatwā* on the legality of killing fomenters of corruption

If Zeyd, who has been granted the post of *sancaḳbegi* by the sultan, and ʿAmr who has undertaken service for the treasury, having been strictly warned by the *pādiṣāh* of Islam: ‘Do not oppress (*ẓulm*) the *re ʿāyā*’, pay no heed but seize the property of the *re ʿāyā* so that it is proven according to the *sharīʿa* that they are fomenters of corruption (*sāʿi biʿl-fasād*), is it legal for them to be killed by the order of the ruler (*velīyüʿl-emr*)?

Answer: It is.

41 A *fatwā* on punishment for a thief stealing from the imperial treasury

What should be done to Zeyd who was caught filing through the bars of the imperial treasury of the *pādiṣāh* of Islam in the attempt to steal from it?

Answer: A person attempting to steal from a place of custody⁸³ but seized before he actually stole must be punished with a severe chastisement (*taʿzīr-i ṣedīd*). The upper limit for *taʿzīr* is 79 strokes; but, according to one report, Abū Yūsuf permitted more than 100. And *taʿzīr-i ṣedīd* may take the form of long imprisonment, ‘until the offender’s repentance and reformation are evident’. Or it may take the form of both beating and imprisonment. What form the *taʿzīr* of such an offender should take is left to (*müfevvaż*) to the discretion (*reʿy*) of the *pādiṣāh* of Islam. And there is no objection (*beʿs*) if, to punish the corruption (*fesād*) of such an offender and as a warning to others, he is put to death by administrative action (*siyāseten*).

SOURCES

Section 1

- 1a Al-Qudūrī, *al-Matn*, Cairo (1957), 33.
- 1b Al-Mūṣīlī, *al-Ikhtiyār fī taʿlīl al-Mukhtār*, Beirut: [n. d.], vol. 2, 4.
- 1c Qāḍīkhān, *al-Fatāwā*, in the margin of *al-Fatāwā al-Hindīya*, Beirut (1892–3), 134, 143.

the demand of the rebels who were to depose and murder Sultan ʿOsmān II.

⁸² *Fatwā* justifying the deposition and execution of Sultan Ibrāhīm in 1648.

⁸³ The punishment for theft (*sariḳa*) is amputation of the hand. However, the definition of *sariḳa* is so tightly restrictive that the punishment cannot in practice be applied. Among many other qualifications, the goods have to be removed from custody by the thief in person, and here the miscreant did not remove the goods. The options available are therefore discretionary punishment (*taʿzīr*), as defined in the *sharīʿa*, or *siyāset*, defined as punitive action outside the *sharīʿa* for the maintenance of good order. The concept of ‘corruption’ (*fesād*) is invoked here to justify the use of *siyāset*.

- 2 M. E. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları Işığında 16. Asır Türk Hayatı*, İstanbul (1972), no. 79.
- 3 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 285.
- 4 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 333.
- 5 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 417.
- 6 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 827.
- 7 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 845.
- 8 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 282.
- 9 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 188.
- 10 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, nos 972–6.
- 11 Ahmet Refik [Altınay], *On Altıncı Asırda Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik*, İstanbul (1932), no. 29.
- 12 Refik [Altınay], *On Altıncı Asırda Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik*, no. 31.
- 13 Refik [Altınay], *On Altıncı Asırda Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik*, no. 30.
- 14 Refik [Altınay], *On Altıncı Asırda Rafizilik ve Bektaşilik*, no. 39.

Section 2

- 1 Elizabeth A. Zachariadou, ‘Ottoman documents from the archives of Dionysiou (Mount Athos)’, *Südost-Forschungen*, 30 (1971), document 13.
- 2 Colin Imber, ‘Four documents from John Rylands Turkish MS. No. 145’, *Tarih Dergisi*, 32 (1979), 173–86, document 4.
- 3 Halit Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili: 14 Mayıs 1583–12 Şubat 1584*, Ankara (1958), no. 31.
- 4 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 44.
- 5 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 45.
- 6 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 41.
- 7 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, nos 13–14.
- 8 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 18.
- 9 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 20.
- 10 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 26.
- 11 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 27.
- 12 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 43.
- 13 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 30.
- 14 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, nos 8–10.
- 15 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 12.
- 16 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 32.
- 17 Ongan, *Ankara’nın 1 Numaralı Şer’iye Sicili*, no. 34.
- 18 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 37.
- 19 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 38.
- 20 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 131.
- 21 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 216.
- 22 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 217.
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- 27 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 552.
- 28 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 553.
- 29 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 625.
- 30 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 634.
- 31 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 665.
- 32 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 796.
- 33 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 835.

- 34 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 838.
- 35 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 843.
- 36 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 844.
- 37 Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislâm Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 964.
- 38 Şeyhü'l-Islâm Es'ad Efendi (in office 1615–22 and 1623–5), as quoted in Tüġī, ed. Midhat Sertoġlu, 'İbretnüma', *Belleten*, 11 (1947), 494.
- 39 Şeyhü'l-Islâm Hâccī Abdü'r-Raġīm (in office 1647–9), quoted in Na'ımā, *Ta'rīḫ-i Na'ımā*, 4, Istanbul (1280/1863–4), 325.
- 40 Şeyhü'l-Islâm Meġmed Şādık (in office 1694–5 and 1708–9), as quoted in Ahmet Mumcu, *Osmanlı Devletinde Siyaseten Katl*, Ankara (1963), doc. 12.
- 41 Şeyhü'l-Islâm Abdü'r-Raġīm (in office 1715–16), as quoted in *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivi Kılavuzu* 2, Istanbul (1940), doc. 22.

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Plate 9 The *kādi'asker* of Rümeli on horseback (JRL1119064)



Plate 10 A Janissary officer with a firearm and powder-horn (JRL1119017)



Plate 11 A *muhtesib*, a market inspector with a pair of scales (JRL1119025)



Plate 13 An arsenal guard (JRL1119074)



Plate 14 The sultan's sipahis in procession (JRL20020701)



Plate 15 Armourers (cebeci) and müteferrikaş in procession (JRL.20020709)



Plate 16 A deli ('madcap'), a volunteer soldier (1119090)

Ḳānūnnāmes

A *ḳānūn* is a ‘law’ and a *ḳānūnnāme* a ‘code of laws’. The term *ḳānūn*, however, is restricted to laws which fell in areas of public law where the ordinances of the *sharī‘a* were either non-existent or too impractical to enforce. This meant that *ḳānūn* was concerned overwhelmingly with the closely interlinked topics of criminal sanctions, land tenure and taxation. In particular, it was *ḳānūn* that underpinned the *tīmār*-system, determining the conditions on which both the *tīmār*-holders and the peasant-cultivators could occupy the land; the military obligations of the *tīmār*-holders; and the taxes which *tīmār*-holders, *subaşıs* and *sancaḳbegis* were entitled to collect. Passages **1**; **2** (xxviii–xxx); **3 ch. 1** show that it was also the *tīmār*-holders, *subaşıs* and *sancaḳbegis* who were responsible for law and order in their district, administering punishments and pocketing fines: hence the criminal statutes included in *ḳānūnnāmes*.

The systematic compilation of *ḳānūnnāmes* began under the aegis of Bāyezīd II (r. 1481–1512). To judge from the archaism of the language, the earliest *ḳānūn* texts seem to be found in a compilation assembled in or immediately after 1488, from a tariff of strokes and fines for criminal offences, a list of taxes and tolls for an unidentified European province and other miscellaneous items, as exemplified here in passage **1**. A recension of the criminal statutes in this compilation forms the criminal code that opens Bāyezīd II’s ‘general’ *ḳānūnnāme* of c1500 (passage **3**) which aimed, as far as possible, to standardise *ḳānūn* throughout the sultan’s realms. The earliest properly systematic compilation of *ḳānūns* is, however, the *ḳānūnnāme* for the *sancaḳ* of Hüdāvendgār (Bursa) of 1487, as found in passage **2**. Although evidently modelled on an earlier *ḳānūnnāme* for Kütahya, which survives only in a recension of 1528, it became a model for the development of *ḳānūn*. Many of its clauses were copied verbatim into Bāyezīd II’s ‘general’ *ḳānūnnāme* and, with the introduction of Ottoman law into recently conquered districts during the course of the sixteenth century, was a main source of reference for the compilers of new *ḳānūnnāmes* for these areas.

The introduction of Ottoman law was, however, a gradual process. Passages **4** and **5** present *ḳānūnnāmes* for newly conquered areas, which usually are summaries of pre-Ottoman taxes, with notes as to whether these had been retained or abolished after the conquest. The full introduction of Ottoman *ḳānūn* in the conquered lands, with the Hüdāvendgār *ḳānūnnāme* as a source of reference, came about when the areas were re-surveyed in the decades after the conquest. While it is clear that, from the reign of

Bāyezīd II onwards, there was an effort to standardise *kānūn*, the differences in the economies, customs and social structures between – and within – different areas of the Ottoman Empire meant that complete uniformity was impossible.

In particular, groups such as gypsies, *yürüks* (see passage 1, Chapter VI therein), Vlachs or *voynuks* (see passage 6b), which were either non-sedentary or else co-opted for military or other duties for the sultan, were subject to special statutes. *Kānūnnāmes* for *sancaqs* were compiled when the *sancaq* in question was re-surveyed and, in areas where the Ottoman *kānūn* had long been in force, the *kānūnnāmes* tend not to dwell on statements of general principle, which were well known; rather, as seen in passage 6a, they concentrate on special cases and on righting abuses which the surveyors had uncovered.

The practice of making land-and-tax surveys of each *sancaq* continued until 1592, the demise of the system reflecting the fiscal and military changes that occurred from the late sixteenth century onwards. The *New Kānūnnāme*, compiled in the 1670s and in force until 1858, consolidated the laws of land tenure, including the modifications made from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, into a single legal code.

1 The ‘Kraelitz text’¹

This is the copy of the Imperial *kānūn* of Sultan Mehmed b. Murād Hān.

Chapter I. On fornication.

Chapter II. On brawls, altercations and homicide.

Chapter III. On wine-drinking, theft and false denunciation.²

(xi) As ground-*tapu*³ for the ground on which a house stands, at the most 50 *aḳçe* is to be taken, below that 40 or 30, and if [the man] is poor, 20 or 10.⁴

(xii) Bride-chamber-tax (*gerdek degūri*) at the highest 60; if [the person] is in medium circumstances 40 or 30 *aḳçe* is to be taken; if he is poor, 20 or 10.

(xiii) When sheep-tax is taken, 1 *aḳçe* is to be taken for 3 sheep.

(xiv) If a *su eri*⁵ drives his *ra ṭyet*⁶ from his land by force, when [the *ra ṭyet*] returns [the *su eri*] is not to take *tapu*; but if [the *ra ṭyet*] abandons it by choice or leaves his land unoccupied

¹ The text was discovered, edited and translated into German by Friedrich Kraelitz-Greifenhorst.

² For a translation of the later recensions of Chapters I, II, III on criminal law, see Uriel Heyd (ed. V. L. Ménage), *Studies in Old Ottoman Criminal Law*, Oxford (1973), 62–131. For a Concordance, see Heyd, *Studies*, 159.

³ *Tapu*: title to land; (by extension) the entry-fee giving title to the land.

⁴ Clauses (xi)–(xv) appear under Chapter III (‘On wine-drinking, theft and false denunciation’), but are evidently misplaced.

⁵ *Su eri* (Turkish: ‘army man’): a *tīmār*-holding *sipāhī*, timariot. It has been customary to transliterate this term as *sūvārī* (Persian: ‘cavalryman’), as an equivalent of *sipāhī* (Persian: ‘cavalryman’). However, *su eri*, as a counterpart to *su başı* (Turkish: ‘army head’) seems more probable. The term appears to be a calque of the Byzantine στρατιώτης (‘soldier, man of the army’). The replacement of Turkish *su eri* with the Persian *sipāhī* would be an example of the shift in the late fifteenth century from Turkish to Arabic/Persian vocabulary.

⁶ *Ra ṭyet*: a member of the tax-paying peasantry in the countryside. He would pay taxes to the *su eri/sipāhī* on whose *fīmār* he resided.

for one year, the *su eri* is free to act [as he prefers]. If the *ra ʿiyet* departs of his own will, his house and the yard are to belong to the *su eri*, but if the *su eri* expels him, they are to belong to the *ra ʿiyet*.

(xv) The *su eri* is not to hold more land than his [own] *çiftlik*,⁷ but is to give *ra ʿiyet*-land to the *ra ʿiyets*. Without the permission of the *pādišāh*, [a *su eri*] making [for himself] a *çiftlik* shall not in the future take land from peasant-land (*türk yeri*) or unploughed land. If in the future he does hold *ra ʿiyet*-land, he is to give the local (?) due (*il hakkı*) to the ‘poor’.⁸

Chapter IV.

(i–iii) One *çift* is to give annually [3] ‘services’ (*hidmet*) [or] 3 *ağçe*, [and] one ‘sickle’ and one ‘flail’ and one cart-load of firewood, and as yoke-tax 2 *ağçe*. If money is taken in respect of these seven ‘services’ (*kulluk*), 22 *ağçe* is to be taken.⁹

(iv) From a *benlāk*,¹⁰ 3 [‘services’] are to be taken, or 6 or 9 *ağçe*.

(v) In towns and in the countryside, a tithe (*onda*) is to be taken from vineyards (*bāg*).

(vi) From the income of carpenters (*tahtacı*) and foresters (*ağaççı*),¹¹ 1 *ağçe* in 20 is to be taken per year.

(vii) A wage-earner and a carter whose trade is carting and who gives up his *çift* and does not sow [a minimum of ?] 2 *müdd*¹² per year, [but] transports salt and other things is to give his *su eri* 50 *ağçe* a year. If he does not give up his *çift* and does sow 2 *müdd* [per year] as before, they are not to take anything [extra] on the ground that ‘You are earning a wage’, but he is to give only as before, according to custom (*ādet*), the tithe [of the produce] and the *ra ʿiyet*-tax. But a person engaged in carting in a town is, like [other] tradespeople, to pay nothing.

If a person gives up his *çift* because he is weakened by illness or old age or because through extreme poverty he cannot manage it, he is not to be harassed¹³ on the ground that ‘You are earning a [labourer’s] wage’ or ‘You are a carter’ or ‘You are a carpenter’; his *su eri* is to take his land from him and give it to someone else, and from him [only] the *benlāk*-tax is to be taken.

(viii) This custom (*ādet*) does not apply to Tatars and *yürüks*, because they are ‘campaigners’ (*eşkünci*).

(ix) If a person earns his living from pack-animals, he is to pay 10 *ağçe* a year; but if in a town, nothing.

⁷ *Çift[lik]*: an agricultural holding. Fief-holders were entitled to cultivate a plot of land on their *tımār* for their own use.

⁸ The term is *yoksul* (Turkish: ‘poor, indigent’). Here, and in other texts, it seems to function as the archaic term for *ra ʿiyet*. The term seems to be a calque of the Byzantine *πτωχός* (‘poor man, peasant’).

⁹ In 1458, the standard rate of *çift*-tax was raised from 22 *ağçe* per year to 32 *ağçe*, suggesting that this clause dates from before 1458. The rate of *çift*-tax was not, however, uniform.

¹⁰ *Benlāk*: a peasant cultivating less than half a *çift*.

¹¹ This seems to refer to the semi-nomadic groups in the forested areas of western and southern Anatolia, earning a living as foresters and carpenters.

¹² *Müdd* (from Greek: *μόδιος*): a measure of capacity. The *müdd* of Bursa was c112 litres.

¹³ That is, harassed for the payment of *çift*-tax.

- (x) The *su eri*'s share (*degür*)¹⁴ is one sheep in 50; half of it belongs to the *subaşı*.
- (xi) From cereals, tithe ('*öşr*') is to be taken, and *sālārlık*¹⁵ at 5 [*kīle*]¹⁶ per 10 *müdd*.
- (xii) From flax, 10 sheaves in 100 are to be taken as tithe (*onda*) and 3 as *sālārlık*, and the fifth of it (?);¹⁷ but they are to soften it [first].
- (xiii) The '*öşr*' on cotton: on 100 *lidra*,¹⁸ 10 are to be taken as *onda* and 2½ as *sālārlık*.
- (xiv) A rice-grower (*çeltükçi*) who has a *çift* is not, like the [other] settled [peasantry] (*yerlü*), to give seven services; the *su eri* is to exact [only] three, [or] if [the rice-grower] does not present himself [for the labour] (*bulunmazsa*), [the *su eri*] is to take 6 or 9 *akçe*.
- (xv) From that member of a *koşun-eri* [group]¹⁹ who serves on campaign, *sālārlık* is not to be taken, [but] it is to be taken from his 'associates' (*yamağ*).
- (xvi) From a Tatar holding a *çift* there is to be taken for 3 services, and tithe and *sālārlık* on his cereals: but there is no [obligation of] service on one without a *çift*.
- (xvii) On a fine collected from the *ra'īyet* of a *su eri*,²⁰ the *subaşı*²¹ takes half and the *su eri* half.
- (xviii) But the *su eri* is to take all the bride-chamber-tax (*gerdek degüri*). If the daughter of a *su eri* 'comes out' [to be married], the *subaşı* is to take all the bride-chamber-tax.
- (xix) The old *qara müsellems* and the present-day *müsellems* and those *yaya* who are *ra'īyet*,²² these too are [subject] to this tax (*resm*).²³
- (xx) The villages attached (*tevābi*) to a town are to bring their tithe to the town if the *su eri* lives in the town; but if he is in the village, to his barn.
- (xxi) Tithe is to be taken from fruit (*yemiş*) and small fruit (*meyvece*) and [silk] cocoons and saffron, but not *sālārlık*.²⁴
- (xxii) In a place where there are reed-beds and meadows (*ot*), [the practice] is to be as it has regularly been in the past.
- (xxiii) Tithe on hives: one in ten is to be taken, good [from good] and bad [from bad].

¹⁴ *Süvār degüri*: the meaning is unclear. Perhaps to be read as *süri degüri* ('flock tax').

¹⁵ A tax on grain at 2½ percent, paid in addition to the tithe, originally to provide fodder for the *sipāhī/su eri*'s horse.

¹⁶ *Kīle*: a measure of capacity, probably c28 litres.

¹⁷ *Ve hūmsin/hamsīn*: the meaning is not clear.

¹⁸ *Lidra* (Greek: λίτρα): a pound, a unit of weight.

¹⁹ *Koşun eri* ('sheep man'): member of a para-military group, perhaps originally involved with the supply of meat and yoghurt on campaign.

²⁰ That is, the holder of the *tīmār*.

²¹ The holder of a *ze'āmet*, with policing duties in his area.

²² *Müsellem* (Arabic: 'exempted'), *yaya* (Turkish: 'footman'): the names of two auxiliary corps, performing services in the army in return for some tax-exemptions.

²³ Kraelitz translates thus. Possibly to be translated: 'are to be treated in this way' [VLM].

²⁴ This rule reflects the origin of *sālārlık* as a levy of barley or other crop to feed the *su eri/sipāhī*'s horse on campaign.

(xxiv) For each ‘eye’ of a water-mill one *müdd* of grain, [measured] by the *müdd* of Edirne, is to be taken, half wheat and half barley; for each ‘eye’ of a *karaca*²⁵ mill, from one that works all the year, one *müdd*; from one that works for six months, half a *müdd*; and from one that works less than that at this rate – half wheat and half barley, [that is,] in equal quantities, [measured] by the *müdd* of Edirne. A windmill is to give half a *müdd* per year, half in wheat, half in barley, [that is,] in equal quantities, [measured] by the *müdd* of Edirne.

(xxv) A Tatar *ra ʿiyet* who has land gives (it is reported) each year one ‘service’²⁶ and one ‘sickle’ and one cartload of firewood, but not the ‘campaigners’ among them; [the practice] is to be confirmed according to that *kānūn*.

(xxvi) A ‘settled’ [peasant] with sheep or a *yürük*²⁷ is not to pay summer-grazing-due and wintering-due.

(xxvii) If a *ra ʿiyet* who has land leaves uncultivated the land he holds and raises crops on the land of another *su eri*, he is to pay two tithes (*onda*), one in respect of the land he is cultivating and one in respect of the land he has abandoned; but if the *su eri* has no land to give to the *ra ʿiyet* and [for that reason] the *ra ʿiyet* raises crops elsewhere, he is to pay tithe according to the custom (‘*ādet*’) only to [the *su eri*] providing him with land (*yerlisi*).

The *ra ʿiyets* are to build a house for their *su eri* only once. If that *su eri* goes, however many other *su eris* may come in, they are to have the house which that departing *su eri* caused to be built; [the newcomer] is not to get them to build a house again.

(xxviii) Tradespeople living in villages – weavers, tailors, shoemakers, smiths, charcoal-burners and the like – are to give 3 services a year or 3 *aḳçe*: they are not to be obliged to do further work on the ground that they are tradespeople, and they are not to have anything taken from them by force, unless they consent at the rate of the local tariff (*narḥ*) and do the work willingly.

(xxix) To sum up, after their dues have been taken from the ‘poor’ (*yoḳsullar*)²⁸ in accordance with the *kānūnnāme* as is set out, their horses and carts should not be seized by force for courier-service (*ulaḳ*), nor should they be forced to work.

[Chapter V.] On the matter of tolls.

(i) If a Muslim comes from outside, bringing horsecloths, cloaks, leather, honey, oil and all such things and sells them, 1 *aḳçe* in 40 is to be taken,

(ii) From a load of cloth, or if anything such as linen, thread, broadcloth, brocade, sturgeon, tin or lead arrives and is sold, 2 *aḳçe* should be taken per load.

(iii) From a load of early fruit, 1 *aḳçe*, and when the fruit is plentiful, 1 *aḳçe* on 2 or 3 loads.

(iv) When a *segbān*²⁹ or a *ḳul*³⁰ or a falconer or an ostler (*at oḅlani*) or a messenger (*elçi*) or

²⁵ The meaning of *karaca* is unclear.

²⁶ Reading *hidmet* instead of *çift* [VLM].

²⁷ *Yürük*: a nomadic or semi-nomadic Turkish tribesman.

²⁸ Here ‘the poor’ has the sense of tax-paying peasants (*re ʿāyā*). See n. 7 above.

²⁹ *Segbān*: ‘keeper of [the sultan’s] hounds’, which may be its meaning here. The sultan’s *segbāns* also served as a military force. From the mid-fifteenth century onwards, they were incorporated into the Janissary corps.

³⁰ *Ḳul* (Turkish: ‘slave’), here probably a Janissary.

other [official] passes through, they are to see whether he is carrying an imperial command³¹ (*hük-m-i hü-mā-yün*) and give him whatever is [there] commanded in the way of fodder and food and riding-animals (*ulak*) and so on; [the official] is not to exact more. If nothing is ordered, they are to give him only accommodation,³² and whatever else he needs he is to buy from his own purse (*yan*). [The officials] are not to harass anyone or do anything beyond what is ordered; if they do [the local authorities] are to report it to my Exalted Court, so that they may be punished. They are not to do anything to anybody.

(v) If a person's horse or ox or mare enters a corn-field, he is to be fined 5 *akçe* and receive 5 strokes; if a calf, 1 *akçe* and 1 stroke; if sheep, 1 *akçe* and 1 stroke for every 2 sheep. But first [the authorities] are to issue a warning (?) (*hüccet*), and if hereafter people pay no heed and do not look after their animals, so that they are found in the crops and the crop is damaged, they are to be fined and beaten in this way and are to pay compensation and be warned to look after the animals and not let them damage the crops.

(vi) If corn is [growing] in the vicinity of a village or within villages or at, or on the way to a watering-place for animals, that is, [at a place] where animals [regularly] come, a hedge is to be made around such crops.

No-one is to act otherwise. Anyone, whoever he may be, who infringes on this *kānūn* will deserve punishment and becomes culpable and has committed an offence. Thus they (*sic*) are to know: you (*sic*) are to recognise this *kānūn* as conclusive (*muḥakḳak*).³³

[Chapter VI.] *Ḳānūn* of the *yürüks*.

Of 24 men, 1 is to be a 'campaigner' (*eşkünci*), 3 are to be reserves (?) (*çatal*) and 20 'associates' (*yamak*). The campaigner is to be fully equipped, himself wearing a cuirass (*cebelü*), and with no defect in his lance-blade, his arrow-flights, his arrows, his bow, his shield or his sword. Ten campaigners are to have one baggage-horse among them and one [small] tent (*tenktür*). Campaigners, reserves and associates among the *yürüks* are not to be subject to levies of barley and straw, to [the corvée] of fortress-building or to other emergency impositions ('*avārız*); and the one who campaigns is not to pay *sālārlik* in respect of that year. Thus you are to know.³⁴

[Chapter VII.] *Ḳānūn* for the married infidels.

(i) Every married infidel is to give his *su eri* 25 *akçe* [a year] for *ispençe*,³⁵ and also for his son who qualifies to pay poll-tax (*ḥarāc*) the full *ispençe*. From a widow with no land, 6 *akçe* a year; the *su eri* is not to set her to work in his house or make her spin, unless he employs her for a wage.

(ii) If there is a *beglik*³⁶ vineyard, he may make his *ra'iyets* work on it for three days in the year.

³¹ That is, a command from the sultan.

³² 'Accommodation': reading *oda* ('room') instead of *onda* (tithe) [VLM].

³³ The formula that ends this clause ('Thus . . . conclusive') is patently the end of a *firman*, indicating that a sultanic decree has been incorporated into the text.

³⁴ Again, this clause clearly reproduces the text of a *firman*.

³⁵ *İспенче*: a tax payable by adult male non-Muslims in lieu of *çift*-tax.

³⁶ *Beglik*: assets reserved for the use of the sultan. Here it denotes a vineyard set aside for the personal use of the *tīmār*-holder as an appointee of the sultan.

If he receives [a tithe ?] from a vineyard, in a place where grape-juice is produced, whether in a town or in a village, the *subaşı* or the *su eri* is to hold *monapolye*³⁷ for two months and sell the wine (*süçi*) [but] he is not to force it on the infidels at more than the fixed price (*narh*). While the *subaşı* or the *su eri* is selling his wine, no infidel is to sell or broach³⁸ his own wine: [the infidels'] casks and jars are to be sealed, and no-one's wine is to be sold until the wine of the *subaşı* or the *su eri* is sold. He may hold the two months' *monapolye* in whatever months of the year he chooses, and in those months he may sell the tithe (*onda*) which he received from the infidels. If he has wine left over, he is not to force the infidels to buy it, but to sell it only if the infidels agree at the local fixed price.

[From the grape-juice,] both in towns and villages, 10 *medre* in 100 are to be taken as tithe (*onda*) and 3 as *sālārлік*.

If an infidel opens his cask and sells his wine, one *medre* in 50 is to be taken, [measured] by the *medre* of Edirne.

From wine coming from outside to be sold, for each cask 15 *aķçe* are to be taken.

(iii) Tithe on hives: one in ten is to be taken, good [from good] and bad [from bad].

(iv) From pigs which roam in the open and are tended with cows, 1 *aķçe* is to be taken for every 2; from those that are fattened up in sties in the house for slaughter, 1 *aķçe* per pig.

(v) The sheep-tax which is taken from infidels is 1 *aķçe* for 3 sheep, as for Muslims.

(vi) Bride-chamber-tax: from a very rich Muslim, 60 *aķçe* are to be taken, but from the poll-tax payers of the *hudāvend-i a'zam*,³⁹ the half: from a very rich one, since the time of his father and grandfather⁴⁰ (may their dust be fragrant!), it has been 30 *aķçe*, and below this 20, and below this – that is, very poor – 10 *aķçe*.

(vii) In cases of striking and cutting open the head and wounding with a sword or a knife and causing injury,⁴¹ and other quarrels which are proven before the *ķādī*, on the matter of what counts as 'rich' and what as 'poor', attention is to be paid to the rates of fines on Muslims, and the sentence [for infidels] is to be half of that, so that the poll-tax⁴² payers may not vanish.

(viii) After the *ispence* of 25 *aķçe* has been taken from tailors and weavers and furriers and shoemakers and carters and other infidels practising a trade, nothing else is to be taken from them on the ground that they are tradespeople: they are not to be made to work, unless they consent at the rate of the local tariff; then they may work.

[Chapter VIII.] On the matter of tolls.

(i) If a Muslim or an infidel . . . [the text repeats Chapter 5 (i-iii) above, with slight modifications in wording, but inserts the following between (ii) and (iii)]:

³⁷ *Monapolye* (from Greek: *μονοπωλία*): a period during which the *tīmār*-holder enjoyed the sole right to sell wine produced on his *tīmār*.

³⁸ 'Broach': reading *aç-* ('open'), this could also be read as *iç-* ('drink').

³⁹ *Hudāvend-i a'zam* ('almighty sovereign'): the reigning sultan.

⁴⁰ Emending *vālidesi* ('his mother') to read *dedesi* ('his grandfather'). This appears to refer to the father and grandfather of the sultan [VLM].

⁴¹ Fines for these offences are dealt with in Chapter II. In compiling the text, the editor has combined material from different sources without editing to remove discrepancies or to achieve uniformity.

⁴² The *jizya*, the tax payable by non-Muslim adult males.

Whatever comes from Wallachia and Islāmbol,⁴³ 2 *akçe* in the hundred is to be taken.⁴⁴

(ii) From a load of pitch-pine (*çıra*) which is sold at 15 *akçe* one [*şūreti*]⁴⁵ or one piece of pitch-pine is to be taken.

(iii) From a donkey-load of firewood,⁴⁶ the gatekeeper is to take one log for the *kuls* of the *beg* who come and go from the outer town (*şehr*).⁴⁷

(iv) From cows [which are sold], 2 *akçe* are to be taken from both [the seller and buyer].

(v) If a slave is sold, 4 *akçe* are to be taken from the two parties.

(vi) From goods weighed at the [public] balance, 2 *akçe* per *kanṭār* are to be taken, one from the seller and one from the buyer.

(vii) From a cartload of salt, 8 *akçe* are to be taken.

(viii) From a cartload of rice, 8 *akçe* are to be taken.

(xi) From a cartload of sheepskins, 5 *akçe* are to be taken, and from a horse-load 2.

(x) From a load of felt capes (*kepenek*), 2 *akçe* are to be taken.

(xi) On whatever comes from Wallachia and Islāmbol and the Franks,⁴⁸ 2 *akçe* in 100 are to be taken.

(xii) From whatever comes from the Franks via Dubrovnik, it was later confirmed as follows, that if it is thus contracted (*mu'āmele*) with the infidels of Dubrovnik, [then] in accordance with the practice (*ādet*) of the *pādişāh*, from one load of cloth 2 *akçe* are to be taken.

(xiii) If sheep come from outside and are slaughtered, 1 *akçe* is to be taken for 2 sheep; if a local butcher brings them and slaughters them, then 1 *akçe* for 4 sheep.

(xiv) If a dealer (*renber*)⁴⁹ brings sheep from outside and sells them,⁵⁰ with Islāmbol [as their ultimate] destination, 1 *akçe* is to be taken from 2 sheep as transit toll (*ayaḳ bācı*); if he sells them outside the boundaries [of the town] [but] comes and collects his money within the town, the toll on them is to be taken from the dealer who sold them.

(xv) If a cow is slaughtered, 1 *akçe* is to be taken.

(xvi) If private property (*mülk*) is sold – that is, vineyards, mills, and orchards (*bāğçe*), or houses and shops⁵¹ – there is no toll [to be paid].

(xvii) Whatever is sold in villages [as opposed to towns], there is no toll [to be paid].

⁴³ Istanbul.

⁴⁴ Cf. clause (xi) below.

⁴⁵ The sense is unclear.

⁴⁶ A later recension of this clause adds 'entering the fortress'.

⁴⁷ The sense of this clause is uncertain. It perhaps refers to a levy of firewood, for the use of the Janissary garrison in the fortress.

⁴⁸ Franks (*Frenk*): a general term for Europeans. Here perhaps 'Italy'.

⁴⁹ Emending Kraeletz's reading (*incir*: 'fig') to *renber* [VLM].

⁵⁰ Presumably, 'sells them in the town'.

⁵¹ In Ottoman law, immovable property which is above the ground – trees, vines or buildings – could be held as private property. The land itself could not be held as private property.

(xviii) If a person's horse or ox or mare enters a corn-field, he is to be fined 5 *aḳçe* and receive 5 strokes; if a cow enters, he is to receive 4 strokes and be fined 4 *aḳçe*; if a calf or a sheep, 1 *aḳçe* and 1 stroke; if a pig,⁵² 2 *aḳçe* and 2 strokes. But first [the authorities] are to issue a warning (?) (*hüccet*), and if hereafter people pay no heed and do not look after their animals, so that they are found in the crops and the crop is damaged, they are to be fined and beaten in this way and are to pay compensation and be warned to look after the animals, so that the grain and the crops of the Muslims and the infidels are not destroyed.⁵³

Anyone, whoever he may be, who infringes this *kānūn* will deserve punishment and becomes culpable. Written in the last decade of Jumādā'l-ukhrā of the year 893 (2–10 June 1488).

2 The *kānūnnāme* of Hüdāvendgār, 1487

REGISTER giving the particulars of the names⁵⁴ of the *re'āyā* of the *livā*⁵⁵ of Hüdāvendgār⁵⁶ . . . , set out by the noble sultanic command . . . of . . . Sultan Bāyezīd . . . and under the superintendence of . . . Mehmed . . . The inscribing and checking of it was completed in the second decade of Şafar 892 (6–15 February 1487).

EXPOSITION of the particulars of the current *şer'ī kānūns*⁵⁷ and the rules for the recognised '*örfī*' taxes which are the bases for the Ottoman registers and the sources for the sultanic commands; written to the following effect:

(i) The *çift*-tax [taken] from a *ra'īyet* who is enregistered '*çift*'⁵⁸ as holding a full *çiftlik* is 33 *aḳçe*; the tax from a half-*çift* is the half of that; the tax from a *bennāk* holding less than a half-*çift*, who is enregistered as 'with land' (*ekinlü*), is 12 *aḳçe*, and from a *caba bennāk*⁵⁹ it is [only] 9 *aḳçe*, [for] it is a laudable practice that the weakest among the *re'āyā* should be protected.

From bachelors (*mücerred*) of *re'āyā* descent who are not earning their own living (*ehl-i kisb*), nothing is to be taken, and in the registers no tax has been noted against their names; but it has been commanded that, from bachelors who do earn their own living, taxes are to be taken to the amount appropriate for each.

If a person entered in the register as 'bachelor' marries, then the *bennāk*-tax is taken from him; if a *caba bennāk* becomes *ekinlü*, then the *ekinlü*-tax is taken; [if a person] not registered as '*çift*' comes to possess a *çift* and *çiftlik*, then the *çift*-tax is taken. The criterion in this matter is the amount of *çiftlik*: a person holding more land than the amount of a *çiftlik* pays taxes on the scale of an 'outsider'⁶⁰ *ra'īyet* in proportion to the excess [over a single *çiftlik*].

⁵² *Ḳara canavar* ('common creature'): a euphemism for pig, a canonically forbidden animal.

⁵³ This clause repeats Chapter V (v) above with small variations. Again, the compiler has made no attempt to achieve uniformity.

⁵⁴ The *kānūnnāme* is appended to the detailed land-and-tax register of the *sancaḳ* of Hüdāvendgār, which recorded the names of all the taxpayers in the *sancaḳ*.

⁵⁵ *Livā* (Arabic: 'flag, banner'): a *sancaḳ* (Turkish: 'flag, banner').

⁵⁶ Hüdāvendgār ('monarch'): the *sancaḳ* of Bursa. The epithet Hüdāvendgār was applied to Murād I, who held this *sancaḳ* as a personal appanage.

⁵⁷ That is, a *kānūn* that is in conformity with the *sharī'a*.

⁵⁸ That is, if his name appears in the register to which this *kānūnnāme* is appended, as holding a whole *çift*.

⁵⁹ A *bennāk* is a peasant holding less than half a *çift*. A *caba bennāk* is a landless peasant.

⁶⁰ *Hāric* ('outside'): a *ra'īyet* whose name does not appear in the register but is awarded land on a *tīmār*. See clause (v).

(ii) It is a patent injustice (*hayf*) to take *çift*-tax from a man who, through becoming old or being afflicted by poverty, has given up his land, especially if the land he has given up is being worked [by someone else], so that there is no deficiency in the taxes entered in the register.

(iii) After the *çift*-tax has been taken according to the *kānūn*, from a *ra ʿīyet* registered as ‘*çift*’ on the *tīmār* of a fortress-soldier (*hişār eri*) a further 6 *ağçe* is to be taken under the name ‘straw and wood tax’, and from a half-*çift* a further 3 *ağçe*; this *kānūn* is confirmed and entered in the registers.

(iv) The ‘ground-tax’ (*resm-i zemīn*) taken from an ‘outsider’ (*hāric*) *ra ʿīyet* who [comes and] receives land from a *sipāhī* is, for a complete *çiflik*, the full *çift*-tax, and for a half-*çiflik*, the half. As to areas less than a half, it is in conformity with the [general] *kānūn* for [this] tax that 1 *ağçe* is taken for every 2 *dönüm*, if it is irrigated land or high quality land which is worked and harvested every year; 1 *ağçe* for 3 *dönüm*, if it is medium land; and 1 *ağçe* for 4 or 5 *dönüm*, if it is poor land. The criterion for a complete *çiflik* is 70–80 *dönüm* of high quality land, 100 *dönüm* of medium land, and 130–50 *dönüm* of poor land.

(v) A *dönüm* is an area of forty standard paces in length and breadth.

(vi) *Çift*-taxes and *bennāk*-taxes, together with their supplements, used to be taken after the threshing, but it has now become the established *kānūn* that they be taken in March.⁶¹ Mill-taxes also are taken then.

(vii) A second tithe is taken from any *ra ʿīyet* who abandons his land on the *tīmār* of his own *sipāhī* and goes off and raises crops elsewhere. But if a person has no cultivable land on the *tīmār* of his own *sipāhī* and [for that reason] raises crops elsewhere, then it is an unacceptable injustice (*hayf-i nā-ma ʿrūf*) to take a second tithe from him.

(viii) If a *ra ʿīyet* who is settled (*yerlū*) goes off elsewhere, it is the ancient *kānūn* that he should be fetched back to his place. But it has been forbidden to fetch back anyone who has been settled in a place for fifteen years. Especially if he is a *bennāk*, it is forbidden to move him, wherever he may be, after he has paid his taxes. If a person who is of *ra ʿīyet* descent lives for fifteen years in a town but is not specifically listed in the register of *re ʿāyā*, it has been commanded and has become the *kānūn* that such a person is not *ra ʿīyet* but is to be added to the ‘townsmen’ (*şehirlū*).

(ix) The sheep-tax, both for *yürüks* and for the settled, is 1 *ağçe* for 2 sheep. It has become the *kānūn* that sheep and lambs are counted together.

The *resm-i kara* due from a *yürük* who has no sheep is 12 *ağçe*. If a *yürük*’s sheep are killed, so that he has none left or so that the sheep-tax [due from him] does not exceed the *resm-i kara*, from him 12 *ağçe* are taken, under the name *resm-i kara*.

(x) If a *yürük* obtains some land from a *sipāhī* and cultivates it, [then], after paying the tithe and the *sālārlik*, he pays 12 *ağçe* as ‘yoke-tax’, but no further tax beyond that: for if he paid a further tax, a second tax [on a single obligation] would be taken, and [hence] an injustice (*hayf*) contrary to the ancient *kānūn* would occur; this matter has been considered (*teftiṣ*) time

⁶¹ Based on the Julian calendar. The Ottoman treasury used the solar Julian calendar rather than the lunar Islamic calendar, as the months of the latter did not correspond to the seasons of the year when taxes fell due.

and again, and [the rule] has been confirmed, by a command of the *pādiṣāh*, in the terms set out above.

(xi) Taxes from the *yūriks* used to be taken when the lambs are sheared; it is the practice now, according to the *ḵānūn*, that they are taken in April.

Sheepfold-tax has been customarily taken at [the rate of] 3 *aḵçe* per flock.

(xii) On crops of wheat, barley, oats and millet, [both] tithe and *sālārlik* are taken, at a total rate of 1 *müdd* per 8 *müdd* of grain, [that is,] 2½ *kīle* per *müdd*. But on other crops, like chick-peas and lentils and beans, or like cotton and flax, only tithe is taken, and not *sālārlik*.⁶²

(xiii) To transport the *sipāhī*'s [share of the] crops to his barn or that of the fortress-soldier to the fortress [where he is stationed] is an accepted uncanonical imposition (*bid'at-i ma'rūfe*) upon the *re'āyā*; but it has been commanded that, if the distance is more than one day's journey, it is not to be imposed (*teklīf*), in order to save [the *re'āyā* from] the expense.

(xiv) If tithe-land capable of cultivation is left uncultivated for no good reason,⁶³ and consequently the *tīmār* suffers loss [of revenue], the *sipāhī* is permitted by custom (*örfen*), in order to prevent this loss, to take the land from the holder (*ṣāhib*) and to grant it for *ṭapu* to someone else. But it is forbidden to take it and give it to another, if it is left uncultivated because it is mountainous or barren; or because it is subject to flooding and so cannot be cultivated every year; for in those cases the cultivator has not been persistently remiss. It is not forbidden for a *ra'īyet* to leave a few *dönüm* uncultivated as pasture to meet the needs of his plough-oxen, or as threshing-ground. A decree of the *pādiṣāh* has once again been issued on these matters.

(xv) To plough up or to enclose or to grant for *ṭapu* the pasture which has from of old existed as the grazing-ground of the animals of townsfolk or villagers has been stopped and forbidden, because it causes injury to the community.

(xvi) To demand *ṭapu* from an orphan is an unacceptable and forbidden *bid'at*:⁶⁴ his father's lands have been regarded as equivalent to his inherited property (*mülk*). In the event that land coming to an orphan from his father is granted to another because [otherwise] it cannot be cultivated, if the orphan, on reaching maturity, claims it, it has been commanded that it be returned to him.

(xvii) If a woman⁶⁵ does not leave uncultivated the land which she holds and if she pays the tithe and the taxes on it, then it is contrary to the *ḵānūn* to take it from her.

(xviii) If a *ra'īyet* dies leaving sons, one or more of whom is registered as '*çift*' and others as '*bennāk*', it has been commanded, out of regard for equity, that they may hold their father's land jointly and pay the *çift*-tax and the *bennāk*-tax jointly among all of them.

(xix) At one time it had been commanded that land held by an 'outsider' *ra'īyet* in return for the payment of *ṭapu*-tax should be taken from him and given to a [local] *ra'īyet*; later

⁶² *Sālārlik* was originally a levy of barley for the lord's horse, and so was not always levied on non-cereal crops. See above 1 (xxi).

⁶³ Later *ḵānūnnāmes* were to specify three years as the period beyond which a *ra'īyet* could not leave his land uncultivated.

⁶⁴ *Bid'at*: in Islamic jurisprudence, an innovation that contravenes the *sharī'a* and is therefore, in most cases, ruled to be illegal. Here the term is used to denote a practice which contravenes custom and *ḵānūn*.

⁶⁵ Normally a widow. In this period, land could not legally be granted to women *ab initio*.

[however] the *tapu*-tax was confirmed [as guaranteeing possession], and it was forbidden to discriminate between ‘outsider’ and *ra ʿiyet*.

(xx) To take a tithe on the produce of vineyards and gardens is in conformity with the prescription of the *sharīʿa* (*kānūn-i şerʿ*); but since it causes hardship for the *ra ʿiyet* to put aside (*tahlīs*) the tithe, to prevent this hardship, a cash-equivalent (*bedel*) has been estimated for the amount of the tithe and is regarded as *harāc*⁶⁶ [on produce]. In the various districts in accordance with the productivity, from each *dönüm* (measuring by vineyard *dönüm*) in some regions (*vilāyet*) 10 *ağçe* have customarily been taken, in some regions 5 *ağçe*, and in some regions 3 *ağçe*. From gardens and house-precincts (*harīm*), too, a fixed sum (*kesim*) is taken in respect of the tithe [due from them]. [The matter] has been noted again in the registers to this effect; and now in the new register the [due from the] crop has been determined in this way.

(xxi) Tithe on honey [due] from the *ra ʿiyet* has been entered [in the register] as accruing in this *sancağ* to the *şāhib-i ra ʿiyet*.⁶⁷ But as cash-equivalent for the tithe on honey, [varying] according to productivity, in some regions 2 *ağçe* have customarily been taken for each hive and in some regions 1 *ağçe*. It has been entered again to this effect.

(xxii) Bride-tax (*resm-i ʿarūsāne*) is 60 *ağçe* from a virgin and 40 *ağçe* from a woman; from a poor one, it is half the tax on a rich one; and from one in medium circumstances it is the sum in between.

As regards settled people, the criterion for assigning a woman’s marriage-tax (*resm-i nikāh*) and bride-tax is the soil,⁶⁸ as regards *yürüks*, who have no fixed habitation, the virgin and the non-virgin (*seyyibe*), treated alike, follow the liability of the father.

The marriage-tax (*resm-i nikāh*) is one *dīnār*⁶⁹ at the highest rate and 12 *ağçe* at the lowest; for those between, it is taken according to the circumstances of the man and the woman who are marrying.

From a man who divorces his wife and marries [her] again, the marriage-tax is taken, but it is the accepted custom (*ʿorf-i ma ʿrūf*) not to take the bride-chamber-tax (*resm-i gerdek*) [again].⁷⁰

(xxiii) Tax on [legal] documents (*mekātīb*) used to be taken according to the various rulings of the authoritative jurists (*eʿimme-i müctehidīn*); later it was fixed at 17 *ağçe*. It has been confirmed also that the tax on the division of inheritances⁷¹ (*resm-i kısmet-i mevārīt*) shall be at the rate of 20 *ağçe* per thousand⁷².

⁶⁶ The term *harāc* here refers to the canonical *harāc-i mukāseme*, a tax on crops of up to 50 percent, according to the productivity of the land.

⁶⁷ The term *şāhib-i ra ʿiyet* (‘holder of the *ra ʿiyet*’) refers to the *sipāhī* on whose land the *ra ʿiyet* is registered. The problem with beehives was that they were often moved and that the honey was produced on a *tīmār* belonging to another *sipāhī*. The question was to determine whether the *sipāhī* on whose *tīmār* the *ra ʿiyet* was registered, or the *sipāhī* on whose *tīmār* the honey was produced should receive the tax.

⁶⁸ That is, the place of residence.

⁶⁹ *Dīnār* was not the name of a coin in circulation, but refers here to an Ottoman gold coin, based on the Venetian ducat, with a value of 60 *ağçe*.

⁷⁰ The difference between the marriage (*nikāh*) tax and the bride-chamber (*gerdek*) tax is that the first goes to the *kādī* and the second to the *sipāhī*.

⁷¹ The division of inheritances followed the rules of Islamic law and was carried out under the supervision of the local *kādī*.

⁷² These taxes were a lucrative source of income for *kādīs* and *kādī ʿaskers*.

(xxiv) In places in this *sancaḡ* noted as [subject to] grazing-tax (*resm-i otlak*), grazing-tax is taken for each flock of sheep; but no tax is to be taken where it is not noted.

For each flock of sheep which moves from one region and has a wintering-ground (*kışlak*) elsewhere, wintering-tax (*resm-i kışlak*) is taken in proportion to the number [of the flock].

(xxv) Skins of lynxes and leopards (*kaplan*) caught in this territory belong to the *sancaḡbegi*, unless they are caught by a *yaya* or a *müsellem*, in which case they belong to the [*yaya*'s or *müsellem*'s] *sancaḡbegi*.

(xxvi) On 'free' (*serbest*)⁷³ *tīmārs*, the rewards (*cu'l*) on stray animals and runaway slaves and slave-girls caught by *re'āyā*, and not by *yayas* and *müsellems* or the ruler's nomads (*yürükān-i hudāvendgār*), fall to the holder of the *tīmār* (*şāhib-i tīmār*). After the customary period for them has elapsed, they are auctioned in the markets with the cognizance (*ma'rifet*) of the *kādī*, and the money raised by the sale of the male or female slave or of the animal is held by a trustee (*emīn*), until the owner is identified. (The customary period for a slave, male or female, is three months; for animals, it is one month, but for a valuable [animal] it is half that for a runaway slave.) When *re'āyā* make the capture, the criterion [for the *tīmār*-holder's benefitting] is whether the *tīmār* is 'free'.

On *tīmārs* which are not free, it makes no difference whether [the *tīmār*-holder's] own *re'āyā* or the *re'āyā* of another made the capture; if no procedure is laid down in the register, [the matter] is arranged in favour of the *sancaḡbegi*, or of the *subaşı*s, or according to established practice. The strongest criterion is the entries in the register and, after that, established practice.

Captures made by *yayas* and *müsellems* and *yürüks* are also dealt with in this way, except that when reference is made to 'the *sancaḡbegi*' it means [each group's] own *sancaḡbegi*.

(xxvii) On free *tīmārs*, all fines taken from the *re'āyā* belong to the *şāhib-i tīmār* ('holder of the *tīmār*').

On non-free *tīmārs*, half goes to the *şāhib-i ra'ıyet*, and the other half goes to the *sancaḡbegi* or the *subaşı*s who have the right to intervene (*daḡl*); if both have the right, they take a quarter each (but in this *sancaḡ* the case of their both having the right does not occur).⁷⁴ In places where sheep-tax and bride-tax are so noted, they intervene⁷⁵ in this manner.

(xxviii) The punishment (*siyāset*) of bandits and thieves and homicides and other criminals according to the degree [of their offences] is the duty of the *sancaḡbegi* of the cavalry (*atlu sancaḡbegi*), who is the pivot for the good order of the territory (*memleket*) and the mainstay (*menāṭ*) for the security of the region (*vilāyet*). But if for any reason [the offender] is pardoned in accordance with *şer'* and '*örf*', it is contrary to the ancient *kānūn* to exact money from him as 'cash-equivalent of *siyāset*⁷⁶-punishment' (*bedel-i siyāset*). No fine is to be taken from a man who suffers *siyāset*-punishment; but if he is pardoned, it is the *şāhib-i ra'ıyet* who fines him.

The amounts of fines are: for unjustifiable homicide, from a man in good circumstances,

⁷³ A free (*serbest*) *tīmār* is one where all the proceeds of fines and other incidental income go to the *sipāhī*. On 'unfree' *tīmārs*, the *sipāhī* shares the proceeds with the *sancaḡbegi*. See clause (xxviii).

⁷⁴ Here the compilers clearly copied the clause from the earlier regulations for the *sancaḡ* of Kütahya, where the exclusion noted here did not apply.

⁷⁵ That is, they share.

⁷⁶ *Siyāset* has the general sense of an extra-canonical punishment inflicted for the maintenance of good order. In Ottoman usage it usually means the death penalty.

300 *aḳçe*, from one in medium circumstances, 200 *aḳçe*, from one in poor circumstances, 100 *aḳçe*; for knocking out an eye, 150 *aḳçe*; for wounding the head so as to expose the bone, and for causing the loss of a tooth, and for wounding with a knife so that [the victim] takes to his bed, 100 *aḳçe*; for causing the loss of a hand, half the fine for taking life. It is the accepted usage (*‘örf-i ma‘rūf*) to take 30 *aḳçe* for offences less serious than these, which entail beating and correction (*ta‘zīr ve te‘dīb*), and 12 *aḳçe* as the fine for inflicting a black bruise.⁷⁷

(xxix) It is forbidden for the *sancaḳbegi* or the *subaşı* or their men to take something and release an offender (*mücrim*) before he has been examined (*teftiṣ*), or before the misdeeds patently committed by him have been dealt with according to the *şer‘*⁷⁸ and the *‘örf*,⁷⁹ [for then] they themselves are open to accusation and their men are offenders meriting punishment. It is a violation (*ta‘addī*) contrary to *şer‘* and *‘örf* to seize and punish (*siyāset*) a suspect offender before his crime has been proven and made patent before the local *ḳādī* or in the presence of a commissioner (*müfettiṣ*) and he has been handed over [in due form] to the executive officers (*ehl-i ‘örf*). However, if an offender or a suspect is refractory and obstinate and refuses to come to the court when summoned, then it is not forbidden to bring him to the court for punishment (*ta‘zīr*) by using force, but without beating him up (*bilā te‘zīb*).

In short, every matter among the *‘örfī* matters (*ḳazāyā-yi ‘örfīye*) which occurs is to be [dealt with] with the cognizance of the *ḳādīs* of the region (*vilāyet*) and according to the commands (*yasak*) of the great *emīrs* and of the agents (?) (*a‘vine*) and of the servants of the ruler (*ḥūdāvendgār*), [for] it is the mainstay for the execution of the decisions of judges (*ḥükkām*) and the condition for the observance of good order among men that obedience be shown to what is entailed by the *sharī‘a* and submission to what is demanded by *‘örf*.

(xxx) If on any *tīmār* where there are no beehives or sheep or vineyards or gardens or mills, and these are introduced later, the tithes and taxes on them go to the holder of the *tīmār*.

3 Extracts from the ‘general’ *ḳānūnnāme*, c1500

Book of the Ottoman *‘örfī ḳānūns*

Praise be to the True Ruler, Who commands justice and equity and forbids lewdness and iniquity, and has made sultans to be the means (*sabab*) for the good order of the world and has made their decrees to be effective over all dwellers in tents and houses (*ahlu‘l-wabar wa‘l-madar*); and prayers and salutations upon the establisher (*wāḳī*) of the *sunna*, our lord Muḥammad al-Muṣṭafā, the best of mankind: and upon his Family and his Companions, who are characterised by excellence of character and goodness of life.

Thereafter:

Inasmuch as a command . . . came forth to the effect that the prescription of the world-protecting regulations (*ḳavā‘id*) and the Ottoman *‘örfī ḳānūns* – which are the pivot for the

⁷⁷ This *ḳānūnnāme* was compiled before the promulgation of Bāyezīd II’s ‘general’ *ḳānūnnāme* of c1500, which contained a penal code. After 1500, compilers of *sancaḳ ḳānūnnāmes*, such as this one, would not normally include penal statutes, but instead refer users to the ‘general’ *ḳānūnnāme*. See below 5 (xii).

⁷⁸ *Şer‘*; the *sharī‘a*.

⁷⁹ *‘Örf*: custom; customary law, *ḳānūn*.

reformation of the world and the point from which all peoples depend – should all be written down and inscribed in the form of a bound register, they have, in obedience to the exalted command, been collected together so as to comprise three chapters (*bāb*), each chapter being divided into several sections (*faşl*), in the following fashion:

Chapter I is in four sections setting out the fines and punishments due for offences, which are of common application to the *sipāhī* and *ra'īyet*, high and low, so that whoever is guilty of one of these offences is to be punished with the punishment laid down . . .

Chapter II is in seven sections, setting out . . .

1. The position (*aḥvāl*) of the *tīmār*-holder (*şāḥib-i tīmār*).
2. What matters are at the disposition (*taşarruf*) of the *sipāhī* on his *tīmār* and how he exercises this disposition.
3. On tolls (*bāc*) and *beytü 'l-māl*.⁸⁰
4. On *çift*-tax and *bennāk*-tax and sheep-tax and mill-tax.
5. On tithes (*a'şār*).
6. On *bād-i havā*.⁸¹
7. Matters relating to the *yayas* and the *müsellems*.

Chapter III is also in seven sections, setting out matters relating particularly to the *re'āyā*.

1. The duties entailed by the status of *ra'īyet*.
2. Matters relating to infidels only.
3. The *ḳānūn* concerning 'azabs.⁸²
4. Matters relating to nomads (*yürük ve ḥaymāne*).
5. Concerning the Vlachs.
6. Innovations (*bida*)⁸³ abolished [in Ḳaramān].
7. The *ḳānūn* for [palace] firewood.

[from II.1]

(i) The holder of a *tīmār* of 1000 *aḳçe* [is to appear] himself *cebelü*;⁸⁴ of 2000, himself *cebelü* with 1 *ḡulām*;⁸⁵ of 3000, himself *bürüme*⁸⁶ with 1 *ḡulām*; of 4000, 4,500, 5000, himself *bürüme*, with 1 *cebelü*, 1 *ḡulām* and 1 *tenktür*⁸⁷ . . .

(v) If a *tīmār*-holder who has been ordered to campaign with the victorious troops does not come and render the full service due, the income of the *tīmār* is 'stopped' (*mevḳūf*); the *tīmār*

⁸⁰ *Beytü 'l-māl* ('treasury'): unclaimed inheritances. These would accrue to the treasury if no heir appeared to claim them.

⁸¹ *Bād-i havā* ('wind of the air'): income from incidental taxes, fines and fees. The term is evidently a calque of Byzantine ἀερικόν or αερ ('fine, supplementary tax').

⁸² 'Azab: an infantryman recruited through a levy on urban youth. 'Azabs often served as garrison troops.

⁸³ *Bida*: plural of *bid'at*. See n. 47.

⁸⁴ *Cebelü* ('armoured'): equipped with sufficient armour to cover the torso, sword, shield, lance and mace; a retainer so equipped.

⁸⁵ *Ḡulām* ('youth, servant'): a retainer, armed or unarmed.

⁸⁶ *Bürüme* ('covering the whole body'): full body armour.

⁸⁷ *Tenktür*: a small tent.

is given to another, and the income arising until the date that the new *berāt* comes into effect falls to the *mevķūfci*⁸⁸ . . .

(x) If a timar-holder takes part in a battle but is wounded and so not present at the roll-call (*yoklama*); or if he is absent through illness; or if, having been wounded in one campaign, he is still incapacitated for the next but sends his *cebelü*(s) under his officer (*yarar adam*) and so performs his service [by proxy] – this being attested by the *sancaķbegi* or confirmed by the testimony of witnesses – this is acceptable, and there is to be no intervention [by the *mevķūfci*].

(xi) The *mevķūfci* is not to meddle over the *sipāhī*'s *cebelüs* and the *oĝlans* listed in the register, raising contention about whether he has brought a *cebelü* instead of an *oĝlan* or an *oĝlan*⁸⁹ instead of a *cebelü*; the *mevķūfci* is not to check the *cebelüs*.

[from II.2]

(ix) If a *su eri* takes from a *ra* *tyet* his dues (such as the sheep-tax and the *dönüm*-tax) before the [proper] time and is dismissed (*ma* 'zül) before that proper time comes and his *tımār* is given to someone else, the incoming *su eri* is to collect [what is due] from the dismissed *su eri*, not demanding anything from the *ra* *tyet*. But the *ra* *tyet* should get a *hüccet*⁹⁰ from the *ķādī* establishing what the outgoing *su eri* took, so that [the newcomer] may go and demand [his due] on the strength of the *hüccet*.

(x) *Beglerbegis*, it is reported, sometimes give a *sipāhī* a letter and send him to the *ķādī*, saying: 'Let this man collect such-and-such from his *ra* *tyets* before the due time'. *Beglerbegis* are not to give such letters. If they pay no attention and do [issue letters], the *ķādīs* are not to act on them and are not to be reprimanded for refusing to act.

(xv) The command (*hüküm*) regarding the *sipāhī*'s *hāşşa çiftlik*⁹¹ and *hāşşa* land is that it cannot be made the *mülk*⁹² of any [*ra* *tyet*] by the granting of *tapu*; *tapu* on it is not permissible.

(xviii) If the holder of *ra* *tyet*-land dies or flees so that the land is vacant, the *tımār*-holder may occupy it himself as if it were *hāşşa* land . . . Yet the fact that the *sipāhī* is occupying it does not make it *hāşşa*: it is essentially *ra* *tyet* land, so that if 'avāriz'⁹³ does occur and are imposed on each *çift* . . . the *sipāhī* must bear the 'avāriz' burden in respect of that land, unless, with the passage of time, it has been entered in a subsequent register as belonging to this *sipāhī*: for thus it has passed from the totality of *havāşş*⁹⁴ and should be treated as *hāşşa*.

(xxii) Every time 'avāriz' occur, the *subaşıs* and the *tımār*-holders are to present their *ra* *tyets* before the *ķādī*, and the *ķādī* is to list them and carry out the *pādişāh*'s command; the *ķul* who is sent [with the command] is to reduce to obedience any who object.

⁸⁸ *Mevķūfci*: the official charged with collecting for the treasury revenues from *tımārs* and other fiefs which are temporarily in abeyance.

⁸⁹ *Oĝlan* ('youth, boy, servant'): synonym of *ĝulām*. See n. 85.

⁹⁰ *Hüccet*: a confirmatory document issued by a *ķādī*. See Chapter VI.

⁹¹ *Hāşşa çiftlik*: the area of land on a *tımār* set aside for the use of the *sipāhī*.

⁹² *Mülk* ('property'): private property; land, the revenues from which are held as private property.

⁹³ 'Avāriz': extra-ordinary taxes.

⁹⁴ *Havāşş*: plural of *hāşşa*.

[from II.6]

(i) The taxes listed in the register as *bād-i havā* are bride tax, fines, *tapu* on a *çiftlik*, *tapu* on a house-site and the smoke-tax (*tütün resmi*) on people coming from outside [the *tīmār*] to winter [on it].

[From II.7]

(i) A *sipāhī* who takes part in the sultan's campaigns is 'askerī,⁹⁵ while campaigning and also after retiring, provided that in retirement he is not registered as somebody's *ra'īyet*.

(ii) So too the *ḳuls* of the *ḥüdāvendgār*⁹⁶ and his female slaves (*cāriye*) (provided they are married to 'askerīs). After manumission (*i'tāk*) they, too, are 'askerī.

(iii) Holders of the posts of *ḳāḍī*, *müderris*,⁹⁷ *şeyḥ*,⁹⁸ *mütevelli*,⁹⁹ *nāzīr*¹⁰⁰ and the like, which have been granted as a result of application (*mülāzemet*) to the Porte, are also 'askerī.

(iv) These too count as 'askerī: the child of an 'askerī who is [*derece* ?] and is not registered as *ra'īyet* to anyone; his wife, if actually married to him; his slave (*ḳul*) who, after manumission, serves an 'askerī and is supported by him and is not registered as *ra'īyet* to anyone; the daughter of a *ra'īyet* married to an 'askerī, so long as she is actually married.

(v) *Resm-i kısmet*¹⁰¹ for these belongs to the *ḳāḍī'asker*: his *ḳassām*¹⁰² divides the estate and collects the *resm-i kısmet* for the *ḳāḍī'asker*. This was the *ḳānūn*, but now marriages and manumissions made by the 'askerīs have been allocated to the *ḳāḍī'asker* . . .

(vi) However, with regard to marriages, deeds of manumission (*i'tāk-nāme*) and *ḥüccets*, the *sipāhī* is free to choose; he may apply to whichever authority [*ḳāḍī'asker* or *ḳāḍī*] he wishes, paying the tax to that authority.

(vii) A falconer (*doğancı*) with a *berāt* who actually serves as a falconer and is not anyone's registered *ra'īyet*, a campaigning *yaya*, *müsellem*, *cānbāz*, *yürük*, *tatar* and *voyruk*¹⁰³ – these too are 'askerī. But with regard to those who are rich, their *resm-i kısmet* being a hundred [*aḳçe*] or more, it goes to the *ḳāḍī'asker*; if it is less, to the *ḳāḍī* of the district . . .

(x) If a *sipāhī*'s slave is freed and leaves his service and opts for a settled life (*ḥuzūr*) and becomes gainfully employed (*ḳāsib*); and if one of my *cāriyes* or the daughter of a *sipāhī* marries a *ra'īyet* [such a person is not 'askerī] . . .

⁹⁵ 'Askerī ('military'): a member of the military class. This section defines the membership of the tax-exempt military class, the rules for the division of their inheritances and the fees payable for the issue of their diplomas of appointment and other official and legal documents.

⁹⁶ *Ḥüdāvendgār* (Persian: 'ruler'): the sultan.

⁹⁷ *Müderris*: a teacher in a *medrese*.

⁹⁸ Here, probably the head of a dervish lodge.

⁹⁹ *Mütevelli*: an administrator of a *waqf*.

¹⁰⁰ *Nāzīr*: the supervisor of a *waqf*.

¹⁰¹ *Resm-i kısmet*: the fee payable for dividing inheritances.

¹⁰² *Ḳassām*: the official responsible for dividing inheritances of the 'askerī class.

¹⁰³ These are all groups of military auxiliaries.

(xi) Holders of posts granted only by the report (*i lām*) of the *kādī* . . . such as Qur'ān- and *tesbīh*¹⁰⁴-[reciters], are like the *yamaqs*¹⁰⁵ of *yayas* and *müsellems* . . . ; their taxes for *kismet* and marriage and *hüccets* belong to the *kādī* of the district (*vilāyet*).

(xii) If the wife of an *askerī* dies as a widow after the *askerī*'s death, then if her father was *askerī*, so is she; if he was *şehirlü*¹⁰⁶ or *ra 'ıyet*, then so is she . . .

(xvi) The *kādīs* of *Ḳaramān*,¹⁰⁷ it is reported, on being moved from a post, do not hand over the *sicill*¹⁰⁸-registers to their successors, but take them away with them. They must be urged to hand them over, so that the affairs of the Muslims are not disorganised.

[from III.1]

(i) If a *ra 'ıyet* dies leaving a *çiftlik* and a young son unable to perform the obligations of the *çiftlik*, the *sipāhī* is not to demand *çift*-tax from him because it is his father's *çiftlik*, but to give it to someone else, getting him to cultivate it and bear the services (*kulluk*) on it until the son is able to manage it himself . . .

(ii) The daughter of a *sürgün*¹⁰⁹ is to be married to a *sürgün*, and to nobody else . . . When a noble command is due to be written concerning *sürgüns*, the text is to be submitted to the *pādişāh*.¹¹⁰

[from III.2]

(iv) If an infidel from the *dārü 'l-ḥarb* dies in my well-protected territories and if after the payment of debts there remains over an estate, it is to be listed with the cognizance of the *kādī* and held . . . If there is no dispute over who inherits or over the will, the estate is to be held in a safe and secure place, and the *beytü 'l-mālci*¹¹¹ is not to intervene; when a man from the dead man's country comes with a letter regarding the estate [all the papers are to be sent to the Porte and a *firman* will be issued.]

4 The *kānūnnāme* of Siverek, 1518

Exposition of the *kānūnnāme* of the *livā*¹¹² of Siverek, according to the *kānūn* of Ḳānūn Pādişāh¹¹³

(i) Firstly, from the *re 'āyā* class (*cins*) dwelling in villages, both Muslim and infidel: from him who had a *çift* and was able to cultivate land to the extent of a *çiftlik*, they used to take, under

¹⁰⁴ *Tesbīh*: reciting praise to God with the help of prayer beads.

¹⁰⁵ *Yamaq*: a member of a military-auxiliary group who is not on active service but contributes to the upkeep of the campaigner.

¹⁰⁶ *Şehirlü*: townsman.

¹⁰⁷ *Ḳaramān*: the province in south-central Anatolia, with its capital at Konya.

¹⁰⁸ *Sicill*: a *kādī*'s register; an entry in a *kādī*'s register.

¹⁰⁹ *Sürgün* ('deportee'): member of a population that has been forcibly relocated.

¹¹⁰ This clause indicates that the sultan did not see all the commands written in his name.

¹¹¹ *Beytü 'l-mālci*: the official responsible for managing unclaimed inheritances.

¹¹² *Livā*: a *sancaq*.

¹¹³ Uzun Ḳānūn (d. 1478): ruler of the Aḳḳoyunlu Empire. Siverek was part of the province of Diyārbekir, which the Ottomans conquered in 1516. The *kānūnnāme* records the taxes levied under the Aḳḳoyunlus, which were in force in the area at the time of the conquest.

the name *resm-i çift*, one *eşrefî*,¹¹⁴ which is worth 40 Ottoman *ağçe*. It has been confirmed thus. The time for taking it is spring, at *nevrüz*.¹¹⁵

(ii) From their crops, [a share] used to be collected, at the rate of one-fifth. Confirmed.

(iii) From every household (*hâne*): three days of labour (*irğadiye*) used to be taken which, at 3 *ağçe* a day, is 9 *ağçe*: the time for taking it is half in spring, at the sowing, and half at reaping time.

(iv) Mill-tax: they used to take 1 *şāhrukî*¹¹⁶ per month for every month the mill turned, which is 6 Ottoman *ağçe*. Confirmed.

(v) Sheep-due: there used to be taken, from 100 sheep, one sheep plus 4 *tenge*,¹¹⁷ which is equivalent to 1 *ağçe* for 2 sheep. The time for taking it is spring, at *nevrüz*: it is to be taken then.

(vi) From their vineyards at the rate of one-tenth. Confirmed.

(vii) But from the people in the villages of this *livā*, they used to take 300 gold pieces (*sikke-i hasene*) as a lump sum (*maḳtū*), 150 of it called *ḳara şalgūn* and the other 150 called *ḳarc-i timūr*. This sum of 300 gold pieces has been abolished, and nothing [under this head] has been noted in the new register.

(viii) Under the name *şihnaġî*, from every threshing one *ġarbîl* used to be taken, which is approximately one Istanbul *kîle*:¹¹⁸ and from every village as festival-tax (*resm-i 'idîye*), one sheep, and the same as New Year tax (*resm-i nevrüzîye*): and from each of their looms, one *tenge* per year. These have been abolished and have not been entered as revenue.

(ix) Bride-tax: for every wedding (*'arūsîye*) one animal used to be taken. This is confirmed.

(x) On the matter of tolls (*tamġa*): on every load of silk passing through, half an *eşrefî* was taken, which is 25 Ottoman *ağçe*;¹¹⁹ from loads of whatever else passes through, 4 *tenge* were taken per load, which is 8 Ottoman *ağçe* . . .; also 1 *tenge* per load, called *noḳta başı*, was taken, which amounts to 2 Ottoman *ağçe*. A lump sum was also taken from each butcher; and if fresh fruit comes in and is sold, 2 *ḳaraca ağçe*¹²⁰ was taken per load. Other items, too, which have not been noted in the register, are confirmed according to the old code (*düstūr*).

5 The *kānūnnāme* of Sīs, 1518

Exposition of the *kānūnnāme* of Sultan Ḳāyitbāy¹²¹ in the *livā* of Sīs¹²²

¹¹⁴ A Mamlūk gold coin, named after the Mamlūk sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Barsbay (r. 1422–38).

¹¹⁵ *Nevrüz* ('New Year's Day'): the vernal equinox, 22 March.

¹¹⁶ A large silver coin weighing 4.7 g in circulation during the Aḳḳoyunlu period, named after Timur's grandson Shāhrukḳ.

¹¹⁷ A silver coin in circulation in the Aḳḳoyunlu period.

¹¹⁸ About 35 litres.

¹¹⁹ *Sic.* In clause 1, the *eşrefî* is valued at 40 *ağçe*.

¹²⁰ A silver coin of the Aḳḳoyunlu period, valued at one-third of an Ottoman *ağçe*.

¹²¹ Ḳāyitbāy: Mamlūk sultan (r. 1468–96). The area was conquered in 1516. The *kānūnnāme* records the taxes which the Mamlūks had previously levied in the area.

¹²² Present-day Kozan.

- (i) On wheat, barley, oats, rye, millet, sesame, vetch, cotton, onions, garlic, melons, water-melons – in short, on every type of crop and cereal and fruit, there is to be a tithing (*ta 'şīr*).
- (ii) From a rice-field, tithe of one in ten is to be taken from the *şāhib-i arz* on whose land it is sown.
- (iii) From Turkish *re 'āyā* (*re 'āyā-yi etrāk*): from a married man, household tax (*resm-i hāne*) of 70 *halebī akçe*¹²³ a year is to be taken at the vernal equinox (*nevrūz-i sulṭānī*), and from a bachelor capable of earning his living, 10 *halebī akçe*.
- (iv) From *zimmī re 'āyā*: from a married man, household tax of 132 *Halebī akçe* is to be taken, 66 at *nevrūz* and 66 on the first day of the first month of autumn: from every married man and every bachelor, *jizya*¹²⁴ of 50 *halebī akçe* at *nevrūz*. From every married man and bachelor among the infidels of the fortress of Pārsībeyt (?), *jizya* of 50 *akçe* are to be taken.
- (v) For every mill that works throughout the year, 120 *halebī akçe* are to be taken each year, and for one that works for six months, 60.
- (vi) Sheep tax: 1 *halebī akçe* per sheep is to be taken; and from sheep coming from outside, from a good flock, 1 sheep, as lairage tax (*resm-i yataḳ*).
- (vii) Bride tax: 120 *halebī akçe* are to be taken for a virgin (*kız*) and 60 for a widow (*bīve*), and no more.
- (viii) For a head-wound, 60 *halebī akçe* are to be taken and for a knife wound not causing death, 100.
- (ix) From some agricultural lands (*mezra 'a*) which are *mülk*,¹²⁵ there is a tithing of one in ten: the *sipāhī* takes one-fifth as *begvāne*, and the owner of the *mülk* takes one-fifth as *mülükāne*.
- (x) From of old, *re 'āyā*, though belonging to the *sancaḳ* of Sīs, have lived in the *sancaḳ* of Adana, [but] pay their 'ōrfī taxes to the *sancaḳbegi* of Sīs. This practice has been confirmed, and no action contrary to the *ḳānūn* is to be taken.
- (xi) On each load of honey and oil and cheese, 2 *halebī akçe* are to be taken as toll (*bāc*).
- (xii) When matters involving fines (*cerā'im*) occur, the ancient Ottoman *ḳānūn*¹²⁶ is to be consulted, and [its provision] is not to be exceeded.

6 The *ḳānūnnāme* of Nikopol, reign of Süleymān I

6a Instructions on dealing with the *tīmārs* of the district

At present the noble command of the *pādişāh* has been issued to the following effect:

- (i) The *tīmārs* listed in the register of the district (*vilāyet*) are to remain as they are: no *tīmār* is to be added to another *tīmār*, nor is any village to be transferred from one *tīmār* to another:

¹²³ *Halebī akçe* ('Aleppo *akçe*'): a Mamlūk silver coin. 1 Ottoman *akçe* was valued at 2.5 Aleppo *akçe*.

¹²⁴ *Jizya*: the poll-tax levied on adult, non-Muslim males.

¹²⁵ This clause refers to lands where half the revenue went to a *sipāhī* and half to a private owner.

¹²⁶ The reference is to the penal code which forms the first section of the 'general' *ḳānūnnāme* of c1500.

no *tezkerelü tîmâr*¹²⁷ is to be cancelled and made *tezkeresiz*, nor is any *tezkeresiz tîmâr*¹²⁸ to be made *tezkerelü*.

(ii) If any *tîmâr* falls vacant, [the local authorities] are to look for an unbeneficed candidate (*ma'zûl*) from within that *sancaḳ*. If no substitute candidate can be found from that *sancaḳ*, it may be given to a substitute candidate from another *sancaḳ*, but on condition that so long as he occupies the *tîmâr* he does not reside in another *sancaḳ*, but comes and resides in his [new] *sancaḳ*. If he resides in another *sancaḳ*, this is to be a reason for his dismissal.

If a *tîmâr* or *ze'âmet* falls vacant and there is no candidate deserving so extensive a *tîmâr* or *ze'âmet*, it is to be given to two persons [jointly].

(iii) This command is not to be infringed. If it is, the [provincial] *defterdâr* is to warn the *beglerbegi*. If the *beglerbegi* insists and tells the *defterdâr*: 'Register it. I will take the responsibility', the *defterdâr* is not to do so. If he registers a transaction contrary to what has been commanded, this will be a reason for his dismissal.

(iv) *Tîmârs* of *subaşı*s and *sipâhî*s are not to be taken from them on trivial pretexts, but only if [the holder] fails to partake in an imperial campaign, or if he commits homicide. [The facts] are to be stated (*ma'lûm*) by certificates (*mektûb*) of the *sancaḳbegi* and the *kâdî*. The certificates are to be kept, and the *tîmâr* is to be given to someone else. If later the [dispossessed] *subaşı* or *sipâhî* comes and complains: 'It was not I who committed the crime', he is to be answered by the production of the certificates. If the certificates have been issued upon the misrepresentation of the facts, this will be a reason for the dismissal of the *sancaḳbegi* and of the *kâdî*, too.

(v) If a *sipâhî* commits a crime other [than homicide], he is to be punished by the *sancaḳbegi* and his agents, with the cognizance of the *kâdî*, in the way that is required by *şer'* and *kânûn*. If it is necessary to refer the question to the Porte, the report is to be submitted with precise details (*vuḳû'î üzre*).

(vi) All the *subaşı*s and *sipâhî*s of the *sancaḳ* are to be [resident] within the *sancaḳ*, and not elsewhere. If anyone is [resident] in another *sancaḳ*, this will be a reason for dismissal.

(vii) If a *ra'ıyet* of one *tîmâr* leaves one village and goes to the *tîmâr* of another *sipâhî*, the *sipâhî* to whose *tîmâr* he has come is to investigate what village he has come from, and send word to the [first] *sipâhî* and to the people of that village, who are to come and take him back: or if it is near, [the second *sipâhî*] may send him back under the escort of one of his men. If [the second *sipâhî*] ignores this, being simply greedy for the smoke-taxes¹²⁹ or for the tithe from the land which [the incomer] cultivates, this will entail dismissal.

(viii) If Muslim or infidel [peasants] not listed in the register (*hâric ez defter*) come to the *tîmârs* of *subaşı*s or *sipâhî*s or fortress-soldiers, the *sancaḳbegi* and other [provincial officers] are not to object to [the presence of] these newcomers. They are to permit the *tîmâr*-holder concerned to collect the *şer'î* dues and 'örfî taxes¹³⁰ of each newcomer in the same way as they are collected from other [registered] *re'âyâ*. Until a new survey is made, they are not to intervene

¹²⁷ *Tezkerelü tîmâr*: a *tîmâr* granted with a certificate from the Porte.

¹²⁸ *Tezkeresiz tîmâr*: a *tîmâr* granted by a *beglerbegi*, without a certificate from the Porte.

¹²⁹ *Resm-i tütün* ('smoke-tax'): a charge payable for temporary residence.

¹³⁰ This means no more than all taxes levied according to the *şarî'a* and *kânûn*; in other words, all taxes.

with the allegation: ‘He is a vagrant (*haymana*). He is not a *ra’ıyet* registered as belonging to you’, for the newcomers are not registered as providing income for the *sancağbegi* or other [officers] [and so they will have no valid cause to object]. It has been commanded that each [newcomer], wherever he may be, belongs to the [relevant] *tımār*-holder.

(ix) In this *sancağ*, half of the *niyābet*¹³¹ arising from the *tımārs* of the *sipāhīs* and fortress-soldiers (but not that from *ze’āmet*s or from the *tımārs* of *çeribaşıs*¹³²) has from of old been regularly registered as income for the *sancağbegis*, to provide for the protection (*muḥāfazat*) of the district. When a fine is to be paid, no sum in excess of what is prescribed in the *kānūnnāme*¹³³ is to be exacted. The *sancağbegi* is to receive half of the fines prescribed by the *kānūn* and the *tımār*-holder the other half. If the *sancağbegi*’s agents or a *tımār*-holder exacts a fine in excess of [the prescription of] the *kānūn*, the *kādī* is to prevent them from taking it. If they do not refrain, the *kādī* will make a submission to the Porte.

(x) The *sancağbegis* are not to intervene on the *tımārs* of *subaşı*s, *çeribaşı*s and fortress commanders which are free (*serbest*), unless a person has incurred capital punishment (*şalb*), or the punishment of the loss of a limb: in that case, the *sancağbegi*, with the cognizance of the *kādī*, is to order his men to carry out the punishment. When [such] punishment (*siyāset*) is to be inflicted, it is to be carried out at the scene [of the crime]: [the criminal] is not to be taken to another *kādīlik* or elsewhere. And no money is to be taken¹³⁴ from a person with the words: ‘We will punish (*siyāset*) you’.

If on such a free *tımār*, there occurs a crime not incurring capital punishment or the loss of a limb, the punishment is to be carried out by the *subaşı*: the *sancağbegi*’s officer is not to intervene, saying: ‘I will carry out the punishment’; if he does, he will be prevented by the *kādīs* of the district, and if he refuses to refrain, the *kādī* is to make a submission to the Porte, so that he can be duly punished.

(xi) Because, when this *sancağ* was originally surveyed, there were many empty and deserted areas and the villages did not have clearly defined boundaries, hive-taxes were divided into three, with one-third assigned as income to the *sancağbegi*, another third to the *subaşı* (if there was a *ze’āmet*¹³⁵ nearby), and the other third to the *tımār*-holder; or, if there was no *ze’āmet* nearby, the two-thirds were assigned to the *tımār*-holder. Then, as time went on, that custom (*ādet*) was abandoned, and the custom was adopted that the *sancağbegi* and the *tımār*-holder should each collect 1 *ağçe* per hive. [Hence], if a man had hives, the *sancağbegi*’s agent and the *tımār*-holder would collect their taxes: but the *subaşı* would also intervene in districts where one-third was registered as belonging to the *ze’āmet*, so that excessive taxes were collected from hives, which might be good or poor. So people gave up keeping hives, there was an enormous (*fāhiş*) fall in the revenues from hive-tax, and the populace was very discontented (*müteşekkī*). Therefore, it has been commanded that¹³⁶ it should all be assigned to the *tımār*-holder, at the rate of one hive in ten: from good hives, one good one, from poor hives, one poor one, and without any demand for cash, [except that] if there are fewer than ten hives, their

¹³¹ *Niyābet*: income arising from fines.

¹³² *Çeribaşı*: an officer in the provincial *sipāhī* army.

¹³³ The *kānūnnāme* referred to is the criminal code forming the first section of Bāyezīd II’s ‘general’ *kānūnnāme*, or a later recension.

¹³⁴ That is, extorted.

¹³⁵ *Za’ım* (holder of a *ze’āmet*) is a synonym for *subaşı*.

¹³⁶ This phrase is an indication that this clause originated as a decree.

value is to be estimated in the presence of a number of people, and 1 *aḳçe* taken per 10 *aḳçe* [of the estimate]. No income from hives has been registered for the *sancaḳbegi*: he has been excluded from [any share] in beehives, so that henceforth the *sancaḳbegi* is not to participate (*daḥl*) in the hive-taxes of the *sipāhīs*. If he attempts to, the *ḳādī* is to make a submission to the Porte.

(xii) The time for collecting *ispence* is the beginning of March, so that *ispence* is to belong to the *sipāhī* into whose period of tenure (*taḥvīl*) the first of March falls.

(xiii) The time for collecting sheep-due is April, [so that] the sheep-due is to belong to [the *sipāhī*] into whose period of tenure the first of April falls: but the due is to be collected after the lambing. Sheep and lambs are to be counted together and 1 *aḳçe* tax is to be taken for 2 sheep, and no more. If anyone attempts to take more, the *ḳādī* is to prevent him: if the *ḳādī* does not, he himself becomes culpable.

(xiv) In this district, the infidels have a day which they call by the Greek term (*Yunanlılar iṣṭilāḥınca*) St Elias' Day,¹³⁷ in which they believe very strongly. It is said that, when that day comes round, it drives out all the swarms and brings to completion the honey, and that the hive-due belongs to the *sipāhī* in whose period of tenure that day falls. This [practice] has been [confirmed], so that the hive-due is not to be collected until that day is reached. The hive-due falls to the *sipāhī* in whose period of tenure it falls.

(xv) The time for collecting hay-tax is to be when the sickle is to be taken to the hayfields (*çayır*): at whatever time the sickle is taken to the hayfields of each district (*nāḥiye*), the hay-tax of that district is to be collected then. The *ḳādīs* are to assign the hay-tax to the *sipāhīs* in whose period of tenure that day falls in each district.

(xvi) In this district, the mill-tax is to be collected after the threshing-floor has been cleared: it is not to be collected while the crops are still on the [threshing] ground. The mill-tax is to be assigned to the *sipāhī* in whose period of tenure the time of clearing the threshing floor falls.

(xvii) [As to] the tithe on gardens (*bāğçe*), the tithe on vegetables and fruits is to be assigned to the *sipāhī* in whose period of tenure the time for stripping the trees and clearing the vegetable gardens (*bostān*) falls.

(xviii) [Further on] the tithe on *bostāns*: if a person does some planting in front of his house or in his courtyard, or grows vegetables for his own use, 2 *aḳçe* are to be collected as 'tithe on *bostān*', because [so small a quantity] cannot be tithed. But nothing is to be taken from a person who sows nothing.

(xix) According to the ancient *kānūn* of this district, at threshing time one hen and one pastry-cake (*buğaçā*) are to be taken for the *sipāhī* from every married man, or 1 *aḳçe* from a man with no hens. No hens or cakes are to be taken at any other time.

If a *sipāhī* or *subaşı* or *voyvoda*¹³⁸ of the *sancaḳ* comes to a village, he is not to demand by force fodder and hay for his horse, or a sheep or chickens, or to impose a house-to-house levy (*şalgun*). If the things he wants are to be found in the village, he is to buy them with his own money, and with the consent [of the sellers]: if they are not, he is not to insist that [the

¹³⁷ 20 July.

¹³⁸ *Voyvoda*: an official charged with collecting revenue; a synonym for *subaşı*.

villagers] go and find them. [If they act] otherwise, the *kādīs* are to prevent them; and if they are not restrained by [the *kādīs*] prohibition, the *kādīs* are to make a submission to the Porte.

(xx) If a *kādī* knows that injustice (*zulm*) is being perpetrated and does not stop it, or if, being unable to stop it, he does not make a submission to the Porte, this will be a reason for his dismissal.

(xxi) The prices of cereals being publicly known in the various areas, the *sancağbegis* and *subaşı*s are not to make villagers accept lower prices and so carry out a forced levy (*şalğun*) of barley;¹³⁹ when they are short of barley, they are to buy it, paying for it at the current tariff (*narh-i ruzī*).

(xxii) The imposition on the district of emergency levies (‘*avārız*’) is permitted only to a person who carries my noble command [ordering it] for the defence of the land (*himāyet-i memleket*).

(xxiii) The pig-tax is to be collected at the same time as hive-due is collected, for 2 pigs 1 *ağçe*, but for one fattened pig 1 *ağçe*.

(xxiv) On cereals, both tithe and *sālāriye* are to be taken. Together they amount to 2½ *kīle* per *müdd*, [that is] the rate of one *kīle* in eight. 2 *kīle* per *müdd* is tithe, and the half *kīle* is *sālāriye*. If, before carrying the harvest to the threshing-floor, the *rā’ıyet* gives the *sipāhī* his tithe in sheaves, then [ten sheaves in] the hundred is tithe and three is *sālāriye*.

(xxv) Tithe is to be taken on chickpeas, lentils, beans, kidney beans, silk cocoons, Judas tree [flowers], fruits and vegetables.

(xxvi) On the vineyards of Muslims, 4 *ağçe* per *dönüm* is to be taken, but there is to be no tithing [of the produce]. On the grape-juice (*şıra*), both tithe and *sālāriye* are to be taken; it has been commanded that they give 10 *medre* in the hundred as tithe and 3 as *sālāriye*.¹⁴⁰

(xxvii) When the *subaşı*s are to hold the *monapolye*, they may hold it for two months and ten days at any time of the year they wish: during that time, the jars and casks of the infidels are to be sealed, and they are not to sell wine (*şarāb*) to anyone, [but] at that time the *subaşı*’s grape-juice (*şıra*) [only] is to be sold. If it is not sold within that time, [the *subaşı*] is not to hold *monapolye* in extra time and force the *re’āyā* to buy it [then] in the same way as he sold it during the days of *monapolye*, unless they willingly accept it at the current tariff.

(xxviii) If somebody’s *ra’ıyet* gives up agriculture and goes off to engage in a trade (*şan’at*), or becomes a carter or a fisherman or a day-labourer, he is, if he is a Muslim, to pay his *sipāhī* 50 *ağçe* as tithe-equivalent (*bedel-i öşr*) and, if he is an infidel, 62 *ağçe*: in addition, if he is a Muslim, he is to pay 22 *ağçe* as *çift*-tax and, if he is an infidel, 25 *ağçe* as *ispence*.

(xxix) If a *ra’ıyet*, although he has cultivable land within his *sipāhī*’s boundaries, leaves that place and sows his crops on the land of another *sipāhī*, he is to pay one tithe to his own *sipāhī* and another [to the other *sipāhī*] in respect of the land he has cultivated; if he refuses, he is to return and grow crops on his own *sipāhī*’s land. But if he has no cultivable land under his own *sipāhī*, he is to pay tithe only on the land he cultivates.

¹³⁹ Barley for horses.

¹⁴⁰ The fact that *sālāriye* is levied on grape-juice is an indication that its original purpose as a levy of fodder for the *sipāhī*’s horse had long been forgotten.

(xxx) The *re 'āyā* of *subaşı*s and *tīmār*-holders are to carry their tithes and *sālāriye* to the nearest market, and the *re 'āyā* of fortress-soldiers are to carry them to the fortress. They are not to make excuses or advance pretexts [for not doing so]; if they do, the authorities of the district (*hükkām-i vilāyet*) are to order them to transport them.

(xxxi) Furthermore, [the taxes] noted in the register as *bād-i havā* – fines (*cürm ü cināyet*), *tapu*-tax, and smoke-tax at 6 *aķçe* from people who have come from outside – are to be taken.

(xxxii) *Ze 'āmets* and the *tīmārs* of *çeribaşı*s and of fortress-commanders are free, and the *sancaķbegi* is not to participate in their *bād-i havā*. [The position regarding] the *tīmārs* of *tīmār*-holders and of fortress-soldiers has been explained previously: of their *bād-i havā*, the bride-chamber-tax (*resm-i gerdek*) of the girls [on their *tīmārs*] belongs to the *sancaķbegi*. No one else is to participate.

(xxxiii) [As to] the bride-tax (*resm-i 'arūs*), 60 *aķçe* is to be taken for a virgin and 30 for a non-virgin. [As to] *resm-i gerdek*, if the daughter of a *ra 'ıyet* comes out,¹⁴¹ the criterion is the soil.¹⁴² the *resm-i gerdek* has been assigned to the lord of the *ra 'ıyet*.¹⁴³

6b Exposition of the *kānūnnāme* of the *voynuķs*¹⁴⁴

(i) A *voynuķ* is exempt from paying *harāc* and *ispence* and tithe on what he produces on his *baştina*,¹⁴⁵ and the tithe on hives and the pig-tax and the sheep-tax, if he has no more than 100 sheep. But if he has more than 100 sheep, 1 *aķçe* of tax for every two sheep is to be taken on the excesses, and if he engages in cultivation outside his *baştina* (either elsewhere or on the *tīmār* of his *sipāhī*), and if he plants a vineyard, he pays the tithe and the *sālāriye* on this [extra land] according to the *kānūn*. [*Voynuķs*] are exempt from '*avāriż-i dīvāniye*.

(ii) Each year, the one whose turn it is serves on the imperial campaign; but beyond this, the *sancaķbegi* and the *subaşı* of the district (*vilāyet*) are forbidden to levy barley from them, or make them reap meadows, or make them perform other services. But if any man does not present himself for an imperial campaign and fails to render the service due to the imperial stables, he is, after being corrected (*te 'dīb*), to pay 300 *aķçe* to the imperial treasury (*hāşşa-i hümayūn*).

(iii) If a *voynuķ* commits an offence, after he has been corrected in the presence of the *kādī*, the *çeribaşı* is to punish him and exact the due fine according to the *kānūn*; the *sancaķbegi* is not to intervene, unless the culprit deserves capital punishment or the loss of a limb.

(iv) These *voynuķs* are grouped together in [groups of] three *yamaķs*. It is the *kānūn* that each group of three pays 16 *aķçe* a year as 'lance-tax' (*gönder aķçesi*), the one campaigning that year paying 6, and the others 5 each. Since the 'lance-taxes' have from of old belonged to the *sancaķbegi*, they have now again been assigned as income to the *sancaķbegi*. The time [for collecting them] is the *ispence* time: they are collected when *ispence* is collected.

¹⁴¹ That is, gets married.

¹⁴² That is, the place of residence.

¹⁴³ *Ra 'ıyet şāhibi*: the holder of the *tīmār* on which her father is a registered *ra 'ıyet*.

¹⁴⁴ *Voynuķ*: a Christian military auxiliary in the Balkans. *Voynuķs* had special responsibility for the sultan's horses, mules and camels.

¹⁴⁵ *Baştina*: a peasant tenement in the Balkans.

(v) In the old register, the *voynuk*s were registered scattered [throughout the register], and when their sons, too, were collected together according to where they were, a total income of 45,000 *aḳçe* [arising] in about 150 villages was grouped together and granted to the *subaşı* Maḥmūd, but because they were scattered, he was unable to collect (*zabt*) it, and he renounced it. Thereafter, [this consolidated income] was divided up and distributed among the *sipāhī*s concerned, by way of shares (*hişşe*). Now [when this survey was made] because these people are registered scattered, *tīmār* income (?) of 5,000 *aḳçe* was traced (?), but the rest was lost. When, on this occasion, a submission was made [to the Porte] about these people, by the noble command of the *pādişāh*, those *voynuk* villages which consist solely of *voynuk*s, and those villages in which the *voynuk*s exceed the *ra'īyet* – 47 villages – were separated off, and the villages where *voynuk*s' sons and incoming vagrants (*haymana*) were settled were grouped together and made *hāşş*, with the intention that if one of these *voynuk*s becomes sick or disabled and hence unable to serve, his place is to be filled by one of these fit [reservists], who is [then] to be registered as *voynuk* and exempted from *harāc* and taxes: thus no *sipāhī*'s *tīmār*-income will suffer loss through these [reservists] supplying the deficiency, and the *voynuk*s will always be at full strength.

As for those *voynuk*s who live scattered in twos and threes in each village, they have more or less mixed in with the *re'āyā* [of the village] and become settled. Their sons have been registered as *ra'īyet* in the villages where they are settled, and henceforth there is to be no registration of [new] *voynuk*s from among them – unless [the serving *voynuk*s] have sons or relations (*ta'alluḳāt*) who are 'outside the register'; these may be registered [as new *voynuk*s], for thus the income of the *sipāhī*'s *tīmār* suffers no loss. If [the 'scattered' *voynuk*s] have no sons or relations [outside the register], so that their places (*gedik*) are going to be left vacant, then the number may be made up from [those] sons of *voynuk*s, mentioned above, who have been set aside for the *hāşşa-i hümayün*.¹⁴⁶

(vi) If a son of one of these *voynuk*s is living with his father, he is to pay, besides the *harāc*, only 25 *aḳçe* as *ispence*. If he is married and living with his father, he is to pay 25 *aḳçe* *ispence* and 12 *aḳçe* as 'hay and firewood' and 30 *aḳçe* as 'bread-tax' (*resm-i nān*). If he is married and has a separate area of cultivation, he is to pay 50 *aḳçe* as 'bread-tax'; if he has hives, he is to pay tithe on them; and if he has animals,¹⁴⁷ he is to pay tax on them at the rate of 1 *aḳçe* for two; if he has a vineyard beyond the *baştina* assigned to his father, he is to pay tithe on it according to the *ḳānūn*.

If a man is a *voynuk* or a reserve *voynuk* (?) (*zevā'id-i voynuk*) and he brings in wine in casks and sells it then; if he is a [serving] *voynuk*, he is to pay 15 *aḳçe* cask-tax to his *çeribaşı*: if he is a son of a *voynuk*, being one of those set aside for the *hāşş*, then the cask-tax is to be taken for the *hāşş*: if he is a son assigned [as *ra'īyet*] to a *tīmār*, then the *tīmār*-holder is to take it.

(vii) So, too, fines: the fines paid by a *voynuk* belong to the *çeribaşı*; the fines of a son set aside for the *hāşşa-i hümayün* are to be taken for the *hāşş* and those of a son assigned to a *tīmār* for the *tīmār*.

¹⁴⁶ *Hāşşa-i hümayün* ('imperial *hāşş*'): revenues set aside for the sultan.

¹⁴⁷ *Canavar* (Persian: 'animal'): here the word is a euphemism for pigs.

7 Extracts from the *kānūnnāme* of Egypt, after 1525¹⁴⁸

(i) The corps of *göñüllüs*

The *firman* currently in force is as follows: each member of the aforesaid group should maintain a good horse and be able both to wield a lance and to fire arrows to the right and left from horseback. Their *ağas*¹⁴⁹ should constantly test them, and teach those who do not know how to use a lance and bow and make them practise . . .

(ii) The corps of mounted arquebusiers

This group also has an independent *ağa*, *kethüddā*¹⁵⁰ and secretary (*kātib*). They, too, should each maintain a good horse and be skilled in firing an arquebus (*tüfenk*) from on horseback. Their *ağas* should teach those who do not know how [to do this] and make them practise. Each month, with the cognizance of the chief armourer (*cebeci başı*), they should draw a sufficient quantity of powder from the treasury and distribute it for teaching [the use of the arquebus]. They should give warning that the powder should not be used for anything other than instruction . . .

(iii) The garrison in the Cairo citadel

The *ağa* of this corps, called the warden (*dizdār*), the garrison troops (*hişār eri*), armourers (*cebeci*) and maintenance men (*meremmetçi*) occupy their positions by virtue of a *berāt*, like other garrisons in the Well-Protected Realms. Garrison troops receive 6 *ağçe* per day and their divisional officers (*bölük başı*) 7 *ağçe* per day; they defend the citadel. They, too, should have a perfect mastery of the arquebus and, to ensure the continuous instruction of those who lack the knowledge, [the officers] should each month draw a sufficient quantity of powder from the government stock (*beglik*) and make them practise. They should not waste the powder they receive, but use it for instruction . . .

(iv) The 'azab¹⁵¹ corps stationed at the Silsila Gate

These form an independent corps, with separate *ağas*. They have captains (*re'īs*) and *oda başıs*.¹⁵² The captains have 8 *ağçe* each [per day], the *oda başıs* 6 and the 'azabs 5. They serve the sultan in the fortress . . .

(v) The Circassian corps¹⁵³

The *ağa*, *kethüddā* and secretary of the corps of Circassians should be Ottomans (*Rūmlu t̄ā'ifesi*).¹⁵⁴ In the matter of their employment in services for the sultan, they are like the corps of *göñüllüs* . . .

¹⁴⁸ Following two rebellions in 1523 and 1524, Süleymān I sent the grand vizier İbrāhīm Paşa to Egypt to pacify the recently conquered Ottoman province and to reorganise its administration. The *kānūnnāme* of Egypt was compiled after İbrāhīm's return to Istanbul in 1525, on the basis of his work in Cairo.

¹⁴⁹ *Ağa*: a commanding officer.

¹⁵⁰ *Kethüddā*: a deputy; a second-in command.

¹⁵¹ 'Azab: an infantryman recruited through a levy on urban youth.

¹⁵² *Oda başı*: a commander of a detachment of 10 Janissaries or 'azabs.

¹⁵³ Circassians: these were the *mamlüks*, troops brought to Egypt as slaves from north of the Black Sea. The Ottomans retained the practice of importing *mamlüks* after the conquest of Egypt in 1517.

¹⁵⁴ 'People from Rūm': Rūm was the term for the Ottoman lands in Anatolia and the Balkan peninsula. Turkish speakers from these regions were deemed more reliable than Circassians or native Egyptians.

(vi) Concerning the *kāşifs*¹⁵⁵ in the districts of Egypt

The services owed by the *kāşifs* are as follows: first, each one must fully maintain and repair the dykes and canals in their administrative area (*küşüfîyet*) at the [proper] time and [proper] season and not leave any dyke or canal in a state of disrepair.

They should also order the villagers and local sheikhs to maintain and repair the dykes in the area of their governorship.

They should make every effort to prevent any land remaining unirrigated as a result of the dykes and canals being in a state of disrepair.

When the blessed Nile floods, as soon as it reaches its maximum height and everywhere is covered, they should make the peasants prepare and sow all inundated places and not leave a single *zirâ*¹⁵⁶ of land uncultivated.

If there is any deserted village in the area of their governorship, they should make every effort to bring it into cultivation by whatever means possible. They should be extremely careful not to take any action that might result in cultivated villages becoming uncultivated.

The practice current at the time of Qā'itbāy was as follows: it was the duty and obligation of each *kāşif* that the instalments [of tax] due from places in the area of his governorship be raised in full in accordance with the *irtifâ*' registers¹⁵⁷ and that it reach the imperial treasury. This *kānûn* is confirmed as it was.

(vii) Concerning *'āmils*

The *'āmils* and tax-commissioners (*mübāşir*) should be brought before the inspector of finances (*nāzir-i emvāl*) and the *emîn* of the city. [These] should inspect the arrears for the year 922 (20 November 1522–9 November 1523) and income for the year 930 (10 November 1523–29 October 1524), [ascertaining] how much [revenue] they have raised, how much of this has been delivered and how much is in arrears. When their accounts have been inspected, they should levy in full whatever they are revealed to be owing, without omitting a single *aķçe*. If any of them makes excuses or is shown to be incapable, their goods and property will be sold. If this is insufficient and they have a guarantor, it will be raised from their guarantor. If this is not enough, the *'āmil* will suffer severe torture and be made to confess if he has anything hidden away. [If he has], this will be seized and delivered to the treasury . . .

(viii) Concerning unirrigated lands

The rules for unirrigated lands are as follows: when the surveyors first surveyed the land [they found] elevated places which the [flood] water had been unable to reach for some time and which had not been surveyed and are not counted as unirrigated lands (*şerâķî*). However, because some of these places are very grassy, they are able to serve as pasture and, because the local villagers graze their cattle and sheep [on them], they should each pay some tax which should be collected for the treasury.

Places which have long been flooded and are good for cultivation, but which the water [no longer] reaches and which are left uncultivated should be inspected. If this happened because the dykes and canals have not been properly maintained, the peasants should [first] be made to make good the loss, and [then] they and the sheikhs of the region should be executed

¹⁵⁵ *Kāşif*: a provincial governor in Egypt.

¹⁵⁶ *Zirâ*: a variable measure of length, usually between 60 and 70 cm.

¹⁵⁷ *Irtifâ*: a fiscal register of the Mamlük era.

(*siyāset*).¹⁵⁸ If the dykes and canals were sultanic,¹⁵⁹ the *kādī* and the surveyor should submit a report and then, after the *kāşif* and the Arab sheikh have been made to pay an indemnity, they should be executed in accordance with the decree. In short, they should make the peasants prepare all places which the floodwater is able to reach. If these are not prepared and remain as waste, the Arab sheikh, the *kāşif* and the *‘āmil*¹⁶⁰ should make good [the loss of] tax, and then they should be executed.

(ix) The *kānūn* of the mint

Concerning *aķçe* coins which are struck in the Cairo mint, whether they are cut from ingots, from Ottoman *aķçe* coins or from silver vessels, for every 100 *dirhem* melted, 84 *dirhem* should be pure silver and 16 *dirhem* alloy, and 250 *para*¹⁶¹ should be struck from 100 *dirhem*. As for gold *sulṭānīyes*, if the gold is coming from Takrūr, when the caravan arrives [in Cairo], it should be bought by the treasury at the market-price (*si‘r-i müslimīn*) and coined unalloyed in the mint. If every *sulṭānīye* is minted at 18½ *ķırāt*¹⁶² in accordance with the *kānūn* of the Istanbul mint, whether from gold ingots or gold vessels, 10 gold coins in every 100 *mişķāl*¹⁶³ should be taken as tax.

[. . .]

It has been reported that, when the juice from the sugar [cane] being processed for my imperial household (*hāşşa-i hümayūnum*) is produced, [the purchase of it] is forced on the workers, accounting poor-quality juice as middling and middling quality as high. In this matter, the copious seas of my compassion and benevolence have surged, and I have abolished this injustice. In the future, not a drop of the juice that is produced in the sugar refinery should be loaded onto anybody. After the sugar which has been boiled for my imperial household has been set aside, the resulting juice should be sold at the current market-price to anyone who comes to the sugar-refinery of their own free will and asks for it, and it should be sold at whatever is the [proper] price for high, middling and low quality. Absolutely nothing should be forced on anyone whomsoever against their will.

SOURCES

- 1 Friedrich Kraeclitz-Greifenhorst, ‘Kānūnnāme Sultan Mehmed des Eroberers: Die ältesten osmanischen Straf- und Finanzgesetze’, *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* (1921–2), 13–48, repr. Osnabrück (1972); Ömer Lütfi Barkan, *XV ve XVI Asırlarda Osmanlı İmparatorluğunda Ziraî Ekonominin Hukukî ve Malî Esasları*, Istanbul (1943), 387–95; Ahmet Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanūnnâmeleri*, 1, Ankara (1990), 347–57.
- 2 Barkan, *XV ve XVI Asırlarda*, 1–6; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanūnnâmeleri*, 2: 180–5.

¹⁵⁸ The term *siyāset* in *sharī‘a* law has the sense of extra-canonical punishment imposed for the good order of society. In Ottoman usage it generally refers to the death penalty. Here, however, it may mean severe corporal punishment.

¹⁵⁹ Irrigation works in Egypt were classified either as ‘sultanic’ (*sulṭānī*) or ‘local’ (*baladī*). It was the duty of the local authorities to maintain the dykes and canals classified as *sulṭānī* and the duty of the local villagers to maintain those classified as *baladī*.

¹⁶⁰ *‘Āmil*: an agent, tax-collector.

¹⁶¹ *Para*: a silver coin in circulation in Egypt, also known as *nişf fīḍda*.

¹⁶² *Ķırāt*: a measure of weight for precious metals and jewels, originally the weight of 4–5 grains of barley.

¹⁶³ *Mişķāl*: a weight of 4–5 g.

- 3 M. 'Arif, 'Kānūnnāme-i Āl-i 'Osmān', *Ta'rīḥ-i 'Osmānī Encümeni Mecm'ası*, supplement (1329/1911), vi, vii, 11–13, 15–18, 38, 39–42, 50, 56, 57.
- 4 Barkan, *XV ve XVI Asırlarda*, 170–1; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanûnnâmeleri*, 3: 283–4.
- 5 Barkan, *XV ve XVI Asırlarda*, 200–1; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanûnnâmeleri*, 3: 487–8.
- 6 Barkan, *XV ve XVI Asırlarda*, 265–6; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanûnnâmeleri*, 3: 414–18.
- 7 Barkan, *XV ve XVI Asırlarda*, 355, 356, 357, 358, 360, 365, 375, 386–7; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanûnnâmeleri*, 6: 101, 102, 104–5, 106, 107, 109–10, 115–16, 127, 139, 140.

Taxation and Finance

Much of the revenue raised in Anatolia, Syria and the Balkans never entered the treasury but was instead collected directly by the holders of *tīmārs* and other fiefs (see Chapter V) or went to support *waqfs* (see Chapter IX). *Tīmār*-income was overwhelmingly, although not exclusively, agricultural and raised directly from peasant households: the revenues of *waqfs* and of *hāşşes* supporting the imperial family, viziers and governors were drawn from a broader tax-base. Passages **1** and **2** indicate that revenues of all kinds not diverted to fiefs or *waqfs* went directly to the treasury.

The treasury could appoint a salaried official (*emīn*) to collect a specified bundle of revenues (*mukāṭa‘a*) or to oversee revenue-producing enterprises such as salt pans (see passage **1**) or mines (see passages **1**, **3**), but this was unusual. As passages **1** and **2** show, from the earliest times, the sultans preferred to contract out revenue-collection and the administration of taxable resources to tax-farmers, usually for a period of three years. While tax-farming provided opportunities for personal enrichment, and unlike political office, was open to non-Muslims, as evident from passages **2a**, **2b**, **2e** and **2f**, a farmer who failed to raise the sum contracted would be subject to penalties. They would either have to make up the shortfall from their own resources (see passage **2e**), or, if they were unable to do this, would be liable to imprisonment or even execution. In these circumstances, it is not surprising to find sources such as passage **2b** which mention tax-farmers absconding when they could not meet their obligations.

Finding mention in passage **4**, one of the most productive sources of treasury income was the tax usually known in Ottoman administrative terminology as *ḥarāc*, levied on the sultan’s non-Muslim subjects. Passages **4b** and **4c** demonstrate that this tax was equated with *jizya*, the poll-tax which Islamic law imposes on adult, non-Muslim males in return for legal protection. Ottoman *ḥarāc*, however, differs from *jizya* in that it was levied on households rather than on individuals, as shown in passage **4**, and might in a few instances be levied on Muslims, as was the case with the Muslim gypsies mentioned in passage **1a**.

The most important coin in daily use (and unit of account) was the silver *aḳçe*, valued in terms of the number of *aḳce* to the gold ducat, the latter being based on the Venetian standard, as can be seen in passage **1a**. The same passage demonstrates that, if the treasury was in deficit, one remedy was to debase the *aḳçe*, recalling old *aḳçe* coins and minting more coins from the same weight of silver. Passage **5a** gives testimony that

Mehmed II had recourse to debasement several times during his reign (r. 1451–81). Although this did not provoke an immediate violent reaction, it was undoubtedly a factor in his unpopularity which became evident after his death. From the reign of his successor, Bāyezīd II (r. 1481–1512) until the late sixteenth century, the value of the *aķçe* remained steady at about 1:50. There was a small debasement in 1572, but in 1585, in the face of an enormous deficit, the silver content of the *aķçe* was halved; passage **5b** describes how these measures led to a major riot by the troops returning to Istanbul from the front.

1 Annual income and expenditure of the Imperial Treasury

1a An estimate of treasury income and expenditure, c1475–80¹

Ordinary income of the Grand Turk from all Grecia²

Firstly, he has in Grecia and all the aforesaid provinces belonging to it . . . *ħarāc*³ payers, that is, payers of the hearth-tax (*focagii*), all Christians, to the number of 550,000, from whom he has for each hearth or household 70 *aķçe*, which is a little more than 1½ ducats. The sultan chooses twenty agents (*procuratori*) as collectors of the said *ħarāc*, who, each with twenty men on horseback, distributed over the various provinces, go to collect the *ħarāc* from the month of June, and they have to return with the said *ħarāc* in August. They travel at their own expense . . . And besides the 70 *aķçe* for the sultan, every household is obliged to give his agent 2 *aķçe* . . . It amounts in all to ducats: 850,000

Ordinary income of Gallipoli and Constantinople

He has as ordinary income from taxes (*gabelle*) sold for the sultan, just from the heads of male and female slaves who pass into Turkey as booty, which make 5 to 7 ducats per head; and similarly for men crossing with horses, 5 *aķçe* and for pedestrians, 2 *aķçe* . . . sold for 3 years at 150,000 ducats, that is, per annum:⁴ 50,000

Customs (*comerchio*) of Constantinople on all sorts of merchandise, both entering and leaving, 5 percent for foreigners and 4 percent for his subjects; customs on fish called *leparchio*; tax on wine; tax on all sorts of wood; tax of rents (*pensione*) for shops of the sultan, bathhouses and *bedestans*;⁵ sold all together, and bring in for three years 210,000 ducats . . . : 70,000

Customs of Gallipoli, paid in full by everyone except the Turks, who pay only on things sold by weight, at 1 *aķçe* per *ħanġār*;⁶ for three years, 27,000 ducats, that is, per annum: 9,000

¹ This estimate is the work of Iacopo de Promontorio de Campis, the scion of a Genoese ducal family and resident at the court of Mehmed II. The inclusion of the income from the Crimea indicates that the work was completed after 1475, the year of the Ottoman conquest of the peninsula.

² *Grecia* ('Greece'): Ottoman lands in Europe; the province of Rūmeli.

³ In Ottoman usage, the term *ħarāc* refers to the *jizya*, the poll-tax levied on Christians and Jews. In Islamic law, the *jizya* should be levied on adult male non-Muslims. In Ottoman practice, the *ħarāc* was levied on non-Muslim households, not on individuals, hence Iacopo's definition of *ħarāc* as 'hearth-tax'.

⁴ For tolls on slaves, see Chapter III.

⁵ *Bedestan*: a covered market.

⁶ *ħanġār*: a measure of weight, probably 56.45 kg.

Salt pans of all Grecia . . . are sold for 276,000 ducats, that is, per annum:	92,000
The mint in which are made the silver <i>akçes</i> , for three years 360,000 ducats, per annum:	120,000
The mint for gold ducats on the Venetian model (<i>in stampa Venetiana</i>), per annum 3,000 ducats:	3,000
Silver mines in Serbia, Novo Brdo; in Bosnia, Srebrenica; Kratovo, Priština, Serres, Salonica, Sofia are sold by various sales for three years, bringing in altogether 360,000 ducats: the tenth of the silver extracted is levied from the buyer [?], per year:	120,000
...	
Customs of Enez, including the <i>ḥarāc</i> on the hearths of the Greeks there not included in the number of Christians previously given, together with other rights to salt pans, are sold per annum for:	11,000
Customs of Salonica, with other rights to salt pans:	2,500
Customs of the island of Negroponte, including all tolls, <i>gabelle</i> and <i>ḥarāc</i> , 12,500 ducats per annum:	12,500
Customs of Morea, tolls and rights, for 3 years 31,500 ducats, [per annum]:	[10,500]
Valona, ⁷ for 3 years, including fisheries 4,500, [per annum]:	1,500
The fifth part of all the cereals of all Grecia and parts of certain provinces thereto belonging, sown on his [the sultan's] holdings in respect of the share belonging to him, for three years 60,000 ducats, per annum:	20,000
Customs of Sofia, for three years 3,000, per annum:	1,000
Customs of Edirne, transit toll (<i>pedagio</i>) on male and female slaves, the public balance, for three years 36,000, per annum:	12,000
<i>Comerchio</i> of gypsies; <i>ḥarāc</i> for the gypsies ⁸ of all of Grecia, for three years 27,000, per annum:	9,000
Baths of the sultan throughout Grecia, for three years 24,000, per annum:	8,000

⁷ *Valona*: Vlorë.

⁸ The sense of *comerchio* in this context is unclear. It is noteworthy that not all gypsies were non-Muslims and that to charge Muslim gypsies *ḥarāc/jizya* was, strictly speaking, illegal.

Rice fields, that is <i>gabelle</i> of rice for Filibe, ⁹ Zagora, Serres and other places in Greece and adjoining provinces, for three years 45,000, per annum:	15,000
<i>Comerchio</i> on pasturage for animals in his country, for three years, 30,000, per annum:	10,000
Tribute of Greater Wallachia, towards Nicopolis, on the Danube, per annum:	10,000
Tribute of the Venetians, per annum:	10,000
Tribute of Chios, per annum:	12,000
Ragusa ¹⁰ was paying tribute of 20,000 ducats, per annum:	<u>20,000</u>

[Total: 1,479,000]

Ordinary income of Turchia¹¹

Customs of Chios, with the *comerchio* of four provinces and certain salt pans therein, that is, Saruḡan, Menteše, Aydıń and Balat near Rhodes. They are sold for three years for 96,000 ducats per year, [per annum]:

32,000

Customs of Alanya, with certain tithes and tolls belonging to the sultan himself, for three years 36,000, [per annum]:

12,000

Old and New Phocaea.¹² The customs are sold, with the *ḡarāc* on the Christians there, [together] with [the revenues from] alum, for three years, altogether 60,000 ducats, of which half is from the sale of alum, [per annum]:

20,000

From Greater Bursa, with tolls, together with the balance for silk, and customs from foreigners. [These] are sold for three years 150,000, [per annum]:

50,000

Customs of Kastamonu, which belonged to the Isfendiyār¹³ lords. [The sultan] extracts an infinite amount of copper from the pits and mines existing here, which he causes to be worked at his own expense; and he sells them as tax-farms to only two persons, to one who exports [the copper] by sea, and the other by land (?); he always maintains a tower¹⁴ – a site of a treasury – full of this copper. Together with other taxes, he normally raises 150,000 ducats each year:

150,000

⁹ *Filibe*: Plovdiv.

¹⁰ *Ragusa*: Dubrovnik.

¹¹ *Turchia*: ‘Turkey’, the sultan’s possessions in Anatolia, comprising the provinces of Anatolı, Rūm and aramān.

¹² *Old and New Phocaea*: Foa.

¹³ *Isfendiyār*: This was the name of the dynasty formerly ruling in Kastamonu and Sinop, conquered in 1424 and 1460, respectively.

¹⁴ This is probably a reference to the Castle of the Seven Towers in Istanbul.

Trabzon province, Amasra and Samsun, all told, 10,000 ducats of revenue per year, sometimes collected by *factori*, sometimes sold [per annum]: 10,000

Caffa,¹⁵ that is, customs, salt pans etc., with all [its] surroundings, Balaklava, Tana etc., including part of Gothia,¹⁶ 10,000 ducats per year, after paying the soldiers and '*ulūfecis*,¹⁷ per annum: 10,000

Most of Karamān; almost all the province has been conquered. Various [revenues], that is, *gabelle* on rice and cereals which he has sown, tolls etc., from which he raises, per annum: 35,000

Salt pans belonging to the sultan, per annum: 12,000

[Total: 331,000]

Note that besides the aforesaid 550,000 *ḥarāc*-payers, there are in Grecia and Turchia 60,000 households of Christians free of *ḥarāc*, because they maintain many breeds of horses and buffaloes at their own expense, and similarly they till and tend the vineyards of the Great Turk: but they have the privilege to sow and plant vineyards and harvest wine on his holdings without paying tithe . . .

Ordinary expenses of the Great Turk

Expenditure on the stables: 500 warhorses, 2,700 horses, 2,500 camels, 600 mules and 600 she-mules for his person and the aforesaid wagoner, which number 6,300 and more, and to which he gives new saddles, harnesses, coverings and pack-saddles. The packsaddles are adorned with various cowry-shells (*porzelette*), each saddle costing 25 ducats, apart from 50 saddles of solid silver, covered and gilded, which he sometimes gives with warhorses to his [lords] each year. Apart from the *porzelette*, which he changes infrequently (?), they amount to the sum of 100,000 ducats: 100,000

Pay of troops of his person

Expenditure on the pay of *sipāhīs*, *çaşnigīrs*, *çavuşes*, all gentlemen, *garīboğlans*, Tatar horsemen, the four gatekeepers of the main (*primo*) palace, including their households (*famiglia*), *solaqs*, and similarly the aforesaid *silihdārs*, which number 6,400 men and, beyond these, 6,000 Janissaries, in all 12,400 men, paid at most (*a longo numero*) 550,000 ducats: 550,000

The ladies' court

Expenditure on the ladies' court, 400 [persons], including the provision of eunuchs, their clothing brocaded with gold and silver, and other jewels and clothes which the sultan gives them. 100,000 ducats 100,000

¹⁵ *Caffa*: Feodosiya (Crimea).

¹⁶ *Gothia*: the southern tip of the Crimean Peninsula, named after the Goths settled in the area.

¹⁷ In this context '*ulūfeci* must mean anyone receiving a salary from the treasury.

Various gifts

Expenditure on various gifts made to his 400 favoured youths in the palace, including their pay; similarly, to other lords; and similarly, to ladies when they leave the palace to be married. 200,000 ducats, including jewels etc. 200,000

Extraordinary

Annual expenditure on arming galleys: for having them built and repaired, and for other things, for which he attracts experts (*maestri*) from abroad (*a longi*) by money. Altogether 300,000 ducats, including *fustas*¹⁸ and similar 300,000

Also including *palandarias*¹⁹ and the like

[Total: 1,375,000]

Summary of income from all Grecia

The Grand Turk has an ordinary income from all Grecia of 1,469,000 ducats of revenues: 1,469,000

Summary of income from all Turchia

He also has a total income from all Turchia, and all attached provinces of 331,000 ducats of revenue: 331,000

Summary of income from all his lands

From the revenues of all his lands, not counting the maintenance of 40,000 troops whom he supports from other revenues, perquisites and benefices, without any stipend; and not counting the profit from the 60,000 households of Christians in regard to his animals (*raze*) etc., the Grand Turk has an ordinary annual income of 1,800,000 ducats: 1,800,000

Summary of ordinary expenses

The Grand Turk has an annual ordinary expenditure of 1,375,000 ducats: 1,375,000

Yet it sometimes happens that the extraordinary expenses reach such a sum that, when everything is counted, the expenses considerably exceed the income, so that it is necessary to lay hands on his treasury.²⁰

Normal strength of the army

When the Grand Turk campaigns in person, he brings with him men of the court, named above, numbering: 12,800

¹⁸ *Fusta*: a light galley.

¹⁹ *Palandaria*: a ship for transporting cavalry.

²⁰ That is, the inner treasury, usually reserved for the sultan's personal expenditure.

The *beglerbegi* of Grecia with all his 17 captains, plus 6,000 *aķıncıs*²¹ and 6,000 'azabs,²² amounting in all to 32,800 men 32,800

The *beglerbegi* of Turchia with all his captains and warriors, plus 6,000 *aķıncıs* and 6,000 'azabs, amounting in all to 30,400 men 30,400

[Total: 76,000]

Ib An estimate of treasury income and expenditure for the years 1527–8

Summary accounts of revenues and expenditure, together with *tımārs*²³

Summary accounts of the estimated revenues and expenditure of the provinces of Rümeli, Anaṭolı, Ķaramān, Rüm, Zū'l-ķadriyye,²⁴ Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo and Diyārbekir, together with the revenues of the *hāşşes*²⁵ of viziers, *beglerbegis*, *defterdārs*²⁶ of the Imperial Treasury, and of *tımār*-holders and *tımārs* of the garrisons of fortresses in the said provinces.

Total income in a complete year 477,431,168

From the provinces of Rümeli, Anaṭolı, Ķaramān, Rüm, Zū'l-ķadriyye: 294,858,899

From the provinces of Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo and Diyārbekir: 182,572,269

From Rümeli, per annum: **187,319,348**

Revenues from the *jizya*, *muķāṭa'as*, quays etc.: 94,784,238

Revenues from the *hāşşes* of viziers, governors, *defterdārs* of the Imperial Treasury etc, and of *tımārs* of *sipāhīs*, and *tımārs* of the garrisons of fortresses in the said provinces: 92,535,110

From Anaṭolı, Ķaramān, Rüm, Zū'l-ķadriyye, per annum: **107,539,551**

Revenues from the *jizya* [etc], per annum: 34,018,288

Revenues from the *hāşşes* [etc.], per annum: 73,521,264

From Egypt, Damascus, Aleppo and Diyārbekir, per annum: **21,460,862**

Revenues from the *jizya* [etc], per annum: 7,169,190

Revenues from the *hāşşes* [etc.], per annum: 14,291,670

From this [deduct] expenses for a complete year 403,388,321

From Rümeli, Anaṭolı, Ķaramān, Rüm, Zū'l-ķadriyye, per annum: **322,134,755**

Instalments [paid to] the *pādişāh*, excluding the revenues of Egypt: 3,476,452

²¹ *Aķıncı*: a raider, receiving land and tax-exemptions on the frontier in return for carrying out raids on enemy territory.

²² 'Azab: an infantry levy, serving in the army and in garrisons.

²³ The income from *hāşşes*, *tımārs* and other fiefs did not come directly to the treasury but was collected directly by the fief-holder. It is here accounted as treasury-revenue.

²⁴ Zū'l-ķadriyye: the province in south-east Anatolia, comprising the lands of the former emirate of Dülķadir, annexed in 1522. Zū'l-ķadriyye is an Arabized form of Dülķadir.

²⁵ *Hāşş*: a fief valued at more than 100,000 *aķçe* per year.

²⁶ *Defterdār*: a director of finances in the central or provincial treasuries.

Salaries of those in attendance on the Sublime Porte, 27,049 persons:	
Per diem 186,110	65,887,940
For the <i>hāşşes</i> of viziers, <i>beglerbegis</i> , governors, <i>defterdārs</i> of the Imperial Treasury, <i>tīmār kethüdās</i> and <i>defterdārs</i> , <i>za'īms</i> and <i>tīmārs</i> of <i>sipāhīs</i> in the said provinces, 24,625 persons:	152,164,838
From Rūmeli [etc], 10,668 persons:	62,552,427
From Anaṭolı [etc], 7,536 persons:	35,735,733
From Karamān, Rūm, Zū'l-kadriyye [etc], 6,318 persons:	33,976,678
For the salaries of garrisons, captains, ' <i>azabs</i> , mounted ' <i>ulūfecis</i> , <i>martoloses</i> ²⁷ in the fortresses etc., 122 [fortresses], 23,017 persons:	40,134,662
From Rūmeli, 75 [fortresses], 6,620 persons:	30,302,358
From Anaṭolı [etc.], 47 [fortresses], 5,530 persons:	9,832,304
For the <i>tīmārs</i> of garrison-troops in the said provinces:	13,891,353
From Rūmeli, 125 [<i>tīmārs</i>], 6,620 persons:	10,082,683
From Anaṭolı [etc], 45 [<i>tīmārs</i>], 2,614 persons	3,308,852
For <i>hāşşa</i> ²⁸ expenditure in Istanbul, Galata, Edirne, Salonica, Gallipoli, Vlorë, Bursa, Caffa, Trabzon, Konya, Rhodes, including expenditure on newly constructed buildings:	19,236,292
For gifts, alms, honours, favours to governors, etc.:	3,005,544
For purchase of various types of cloth:	4,934,127
For costs of the imperial kitchen:	2,379,505
For costs of the imperial stables:	5,640,000
For cost of cloth for the Janissaries [for uniforms]:	2,955,348
For payments for Janissaries' bows and quivers, falconers' gold braids and payments to new Muslims:	855,120
For expenditure on robes of honour:	70,909
For costs of the imperial armoury and gun-foundry:	339,833
For cost of bread rations:	517,421
For costs of the <i>hāşşa</i> chambers:	124,456
For costs of salaried staff of congregational mosques and mosques in fortresses, fees for [collecting] the <i>jizya</i> , together with other expenditures:	390,828
For the salaries of superintendents and <i>emīns</i> , ²⁹ the pay of the pious, <i>şeyhs</i> , keepers of the <i>zāviyes</i> ³⁰ of various mosques and <i>an'ām</i> -chanters; ³¹ costs of İkizceler sheep, feed for hunting-birds; [pensions] of some retired persons etc.:	1,094,849
For the annual salaries of some <i>sancaḳbegis</i> and [. . . ?]; and the annual salaries of keepers of <i>zāviyes</i> , falconers etc.:	650,434
For costs of various buildings, repairing fortresses, building new ships on the Danube etc., together with other expenses:	3,057,725

²⁷ *Martolos*: a Christian military auxiliary in the Balkans.

²⁸ *Hāşşa*: belonging to the sultan, or the state in the person of the sultan. Here expenditure falling to the sultan's treasury.

²⁹ *Emīn*: a salaried agent of the government.

³⁰ *Zāviye*: a dervish convent.

³¹ *An'ām*: the sixth *sūra* of the Qur'ān (*al-An'ām*). Here, the section of the Qur'ān containing this *sūra*.

For expenditure on Küre the Prosperous: ³²	1,326,930
[Total]	322,134,755
From the provinces of Egypt, Damascus and Aleppo in a complete year:	61,143,784
For the annual salaries of the <i>beglerbegi</i> of Egypt, the superintendent of finances (<i>nāzir-i emvāl</i>) etc.:	5,105,000
For the recipients of tri-monthly salaries, including <i>çavuşes</i> :	783,928
For the corps of <i>göñüllüs</i> of Egypt, arquebusiers, mounted Circassians ³³ and retired Circassians, 3,761 persons:	10,211,192
For the garrison-troops, captains and <i>'azabs</i> in the said province, 2,742 persons:	8,088,177
For the <i>tīmārs</i> of garrison troops in the Arab province, 14 fortresses, 419 persons:	669,054
For the <i>hāşşes</i> of the <i>beglerbegi</i> of Damascus and governors of the province; and [for] the <i>kethüdā</i> , <i>defterdār</i> , <i>za'ims</i> ³⁴ and other <i>tīmār</i> -holders, 2,275 persons:	19,169,296
For expenditure on the Noble Ka'ba of God:	4,286,475
For expenditure on the <i>hāşşa</i> sugar:	500,000
For expenditure on the <i>hāşşa</i> gunpowder and armoury:	1,200,000
For expenditure on robes of honour:	154,360
For expenditure on <i>cassia fistula</i> : ³⁵	300,000
For some rents in Aleppo:	56,826
For salaries and <i>hāşşa</i> expenditures in Jeddah and cost of <i>hāşşa</i> ships:	619,476
For land which is flooded, waste, fallow or out of reach of the Nile flood:	10,000,000
From the province of Diyārbekir:	20,109,782
For the recipients of tri-monthly salaries, 15 persons:	176,644
For the salaries of <i>gūlāms</i> ³⁶ in the said province, 446 persons:	1,816,020
For the salaries of garrison-troops, captains and <i>'azabs</i> in the fortresses in the said province, 1,858 persons:	3,801,948
For expenditure on robes of honour and tent-dues for the Arabs in the said province:	23,500
For the <i>hāşşes</i> of the <i>beglerbegis</i> , <i>sancağbegis</i> , <i>za'ims</i> and <i>sipāhīs'</i> <i>tīmārs</i> in the said province, 1,071 persons:	14,291,670
Surplus to the Treasury:	74,042,847

³² This appears to refer to the copper-producing district of Kastamonu.

³³ Names of four military divisions stationed in Egypt, excluding the garrison in the Cairo Citadel. See Chapter VII.

³⁴ *Za'im*: the holder of a fief worth between 20,000 and 100,000 *aķçe* per year.

³⁵ A tree with medicinal properties, imported from India.

³⁶ *Gūlām*: a *gūlām* is a slave in the service of a monarch. The identity of these *gūlāms* is not clear.

2 Customs and *muḳāṭa'as*

2a Entry from a register of *muḳāṭa'as*

Ab initio: *muḳāṭa'a* of the village of Hrişne in the district (*nāhiye*) of Yeñice Karaşu,³⁷ which was in the possession of Ya'küb the physician.³⁸ Contracted to Şirmerd b. 'Abdu'llāh, '*āmil*³⁹ of the mine at Kavalā, from 25 Şafār 882 (8 June 1477).

On 23 Rabī'u'l-ākhir in the same year (4 August 1477). [Contracted] together with the monopoly on the grape-juice from the said village in Kavalā.

For three years: 60,000 [*aḳçe*] Fee for *berāt*⁴⁰ etc: 870

2b Entry from a register of *muḳāṭa'as*

Ab initio: *muḳāṭa'a* of the fish-traps in the *ze'āmet* of Ostrova, a dependency of Timür Hişār. Contracted to İlya b. Çokarik and Astrati b. Astanice (they have absconded).

From 14 Rabī'u'l-ākhir 884 (15 July 1479). On 17 Sha'bān 884 (3 November 1479).

For three years: 96,000 [*aḳçe*] Fee for *berāt* etc: 1,584

2c A decree granting a *muḳāṭa'a*

The reason for the writing of the *mişāl*⁴¹ . . . is this, that:

To the bearers, [X] and [Y], I have 'given for the *muḳāṭa'a*' the quays (*iskele*) of Gallipoli and Üsküdar for three years from 1 Ramaḍān falling in this *taḥvīl*⁴² of 884 (16 November 1479) for 8,000,000 *aḳçe* (the half of which *kıst*⁴³ is 4,000,000). They are to take and possess (*taşarruf*), according to the old regulation and rule, the *pencik*⁴⁴ on every slave; 5 *aḳçe* per horse; [?] per camel; [?] per sheep; and [?] for every load and every pedestrian.

None of my *begs* or *sipāhīs* or anyone else is to hinder them or interfere, or to hide his slaves, or to refuse to pay *pencik*. No ship is to pass to the other side until my '*āmils* have searched it and granted permission. . . .

The '*āmils* are to pay instalments (*kısta cevāb vereler*) once every six months, without making any excuses. When their years are completed, they are to take a *hüccet*⁴⁵ from my Porte . . . Second decade of Ramaḍān, 884 [26 November–5 December 1479]

³⁷ Yeñice Karaşu: Genisea.

³⁸ This refers to Iacopo of Gaëta who, as Ya'küb Pasha, served as Meḫmed II's personal physician. See Bernard Lewis, 'The privilege granted by Meḫmed II to his physician', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, 14/3 (1952), 560–3.

³⁹ '*Āmil*: a factor; an agent of the sultan, usually acting as tax-collector.

⁴⁰ A *berāt* is a diploma of appointment. Fees levied for issuing *berāts* were a major source of treasury income.

⁴¹ *Mişāl*: here a decree.

⁴² *Taḥvīl*: the sum to be transferred from the tax-farm to the treasury by the end of the stipulated period, usually three years.

⁴³ *Kıst*: the sum payable to the treasury from a tax-farm, as an instalment due for a specified portion of the contract.

⁴⁴ *Pencik*: here the toll payable for transporting a slave across the Bosphorus from Istanbul to Üsküdar.

⁴⁵ *Hüccet*: here a document issued by the treasury to confirm the completion of a tax-farmer's term and the delivery of the sum contracted.

2d *The problems of a tax-farmer*

Order to the *kādīs* of Anaṭoli, Kaṣtamoni and Kaṅgri:⁴⁶

Heretofore I had granted as a farm to [X] the stopped revenues (*mevkūfāt*)⁴⁷ of the *sancaḳs* and *subaşılıks* of Anaṭoli, Kaṣtamoni and Kaṅgri. Now he has come to my Porte and stated: ‘Since I have no felicitous decree, [the moneys] cannot be taken and many persons rebuff me’. Therefore, my order is this: his agents shall travel round and enquire, and if they find after this date a *sancaḳ* or a *subaşılık* which is ‘stopped’ (*mevkūf*), you are to adjudicate its revenues to my *kul* so that he can take them in full; if a *sancaḳbegi* or a *subaşı* dies, or if his *sancaḳ* or his *subaşılık* is taken from him and given to someone else, you are to adjudicate all the revenue [arising] until the date of the *berāt* of his successor to my *kul* for him to take it: if a *subaşı* does not go on his due service, or leaves the army before his service is complete, his *tīmār* is *mevkūf* and you are to adjudicate its revenue to my *kul*. On the matter of my moneys, you are to render all assistance.

2e *Demand for the delivery of payment due from a tax-farm*

[To] . . . the *kādī* . . . the inspector of the *muḳāṭa* ‘as of Niḡbolı:⁴⁸

When the exalted imperial sign⁴⁹ arrives, it should be known that, in accordance with the register of the *sancaḳbegi* of Semendire,⁵⁰ Meḡmed . . . the tri-monthly pay of the 22 ‘*azabs* in the fortress of Boraḡı varoşı⁵¹ in the said *sancaḳ* from 1 Muḡarram 997 to the end of Jumādā’ l-ülā [997] (20 November 1588–15 May 1589) is 8,892 *aḳçe*, at a daily rate of 104 *aḳçe*, and their six-monthly pay is 17,784 *aḳçe*. This being so, [I have ordered] the transfer of the said sum [to be paid] from the *taḡvīl* of the *muḳāṭa* ‘a of the quay of Niḡbolı and its dependencies, held jointly by Salomūn, Abrāhām and Yāḡūb, from the portion due from [9] November, falling on 3 Şafar [1001] and reserved for the fortress. I have commanded that, when the *ḡavāle*,⁵² Muştafā b. Hüseyin Kethūdā, arrives with my noble command, you should not pay the said 17,784 *aḳçe* from the *aḳçes* destined for my Imperial Treasury, but collect it in full from the *aḳçes* reserved for fortresses and deliver it in full to the said *ḡavāle*. After delivering it, you should write a *ḡüccet* on the reverse of my imperial command and give it to the said tax-farmers (*mültezimūn*), so that they may have documentation when the accounts are drawn up.

[On reverse]

. . . Hüsam b. Meḡmed, *kādī* in the *kaṣā* of Feth-i Islām⁵³ recorded the matter as it occurred.

The reason for writing this legal document . . . is as follows:

In accordance with the noble command, the *ḡavāle* called Muştafā, [named] in [this] noble

⁴⁶ Kaṅgri: Çankırı.

⁴⁷ *Mevkūfāt*: income coming to the treasury from vacant *tīmārs* and other revenue sources which are temporarily unassigned.

⁴⁸ *Niḡbolı*: Nikopol.

⁴⁹ The ‘sign’ is the *tuḡra* at the head of the document, authenticating it as coming from the sultan.

⁵⁰ *Semendire*: Smederovo.

⁵¹ *Boraḡa varoşı*: Porača, Porečje. ‘Varoş’ means ‘suburb’. The ‘*azabs* were probably stationed in the town outside the fortress.

⁵² *ḡavāle*: here the official charged with transferring the sum due from the tax-farm to the treasury.

⁵³ *Feth-i Islām*: Kladovo.

command appeared in the court of the noble *sharī'a*. In accordance with the noble command, the 17,782 *aḳçe* for the pay of the *'azabs* in Borađı varoşı in the *sancaḳ* of Semendire have been transferred from the Jews called Salomūn, Yāğūb and Abrāhām who had contracted for the *tahvīl* of the quays of Vidin and Niğbolı for the year 1001 (1592/3). There is no surplus from the quay at Vidin. [Now] the *mukāṭa'as* of Vidin and Niğbolı are joined, and it is a condition that the surplus of one should be accounted with the deficit of the other. Therefore, because there is also a deficit in the sum contracted for the quays of Niğbolı and Rahova,⁵⁴ the said Jews paid the full amount from their own resources. When they acknowledged and confirmed this under oath, the facts as they occurred were written on the reverse of the noble command.

12 Rabī'u'l-awwal 1003 (25 November 1594).

Witnesses to the proceedings: Yūsuf 'Abdu'llāh; Ḥasan Beg el-Cündī; Ya'ḳūb Beg el-Cündī; and others who were present.

2f Tax avoidance

Mevlānā Muşliḥü'd-Dīn, *ḳādī* of Edirne . . . and the *subaşı* . . . :

When the sublime imperial sign arrives, you are to know this:

At the present time, Miḥāl Mavrūdī, who holds the *mukāṭa'a* of the customs of Edirne, has come to my Exalted Port and made this submission: 'Various people interfere in my affairs, which are being carried out according to custom and regulation (*'ādet ve ḳānūn*), and obstruct them'.

This being so, the regulation and rule (*ḳā'ide*) on this matter is as follows: On lynx-skins, sables . . . [etc.], I have commanded that if Frankish merchants bring them, customs of 4 *aḳçe* per hundred is to be taken, but from Muslim merchants 1 *aḳçe* per hundred, and no more. If people attempt to take more, you are to prevent them.

Certain merchants bring their goods (*ḳumaş*) and leave them somewhere near the city and then, to evade customs duty, sell them to merchants within the city. Now I have commanded that this *'āmil* is to investigate such [dealings] and is to put [alleged offenders] strictly to the oath. If, in places under your jurisdiction, he finds such goods hidden away in order to evade the payment of customs, I have commanded that besides the [normal] customs-due, twice the due is to be taken. In this matter you are to give every assistance, for the moneys involved are mine, and not the *'āmil*'s. This you are to know.

When the customs duty is paid, no one is to declare his goods at less [than they really are]. No [Muslim] is to come to an agreement [with an infidel] and enable the infidel's goods to evade [full] customs-duty by claiming that they are his. If such [evasions] occur, you are to forbid it strictly, and these [offenders] also are, as stated above, to pay twice the customs-duty over and above the [basic] duty. You are to be duly attentive in this matter and to restrain those who interfere in the affairs of this *'āmil* or unjustifiably resist him and to prevent them from interfering. Those who are refractory you are to list and report to my felicitous Porte: you should not act otherwise.

In matters relating to my moneys, you are to demonstrate perfect endeavours and zeal. This you are to know . . . Second decade of Jumādā'l-ukhrā 898 (30 March–9 April 1493)

⁵⁴ Rahova: Oryahovo

2g Tax arrangements in newly conquered fortified towns

Ķānūnnāme for the customs (*gümriik*) and other taxes (*rūsūm*) of AĶkerman;⁵⁵ it was written to the *sancaĶbegi* and the *Ķādī* [of the fortress] and its commander:

A tithe is reportedly taken from all fish and for what is produced from vineyards; 12 Ottoman *aĶĉe* are taken from each cask of grape-juice.

On cloth (*Ķumaş*), if the people of the fortress (*Ķal'a*) bring it from outside or send it out, they pay 2 percent customs. If an outsider brings in cloth and sells it, both the buyer and the seller pay 5½ percent. Merchants who, whether they are Rūs⁵⁶ or others, come from 'below' and take away their goods by sea, or who come in by sea and depart for Rūs taking their goods, pay customs of 10 percent on 300. If cereals are loaded onto ships . . . [etc.]

If cloth coming from Rūs is sold, the seller pays, besides customs, 4 *aĶĉe* per 100 *arşun*⁵⁷ as toll (*bāc*), and the buyer, too, pays 2½ *aĶĉe* per 100 *arşun* as toll.

If besides these taxes [listed] there is any other not mentioned here, it is to be collected according to the ancient custom (*ādet-i Ķadīme*); and the *emīn* who collects all the taxes, those listed and those not, is to hold (*zabī*) them for the *beglik*,⁵⁸ omitting nothing. If, in the past, the fortress-commanders used to collect anything beyond these, from fish or anything else, or if there were taxes taken for the service of clerks or of gate-keepers, they are to belong to the *beglik* and be held for the *beglik*.

All the shops are *beglik*: they are to be rented to the occupiers and the proceeds held for the *beglik*. The bath (*ĥammām*) in the city (*şehr*) is also *beglik*: you are to lease it out (*mukāta'aya şat-*) and hold the proceeds for the *beglik*. The houses of the deported infidels are also *beglik*: as tenants are found, you are to rent them out and hold the money arising. With the cognizance of the *Ķādī* and the fortress-commander, some houses of the deportees are to be allocated to the fortress troops according to their rank, so that they are accommodated.

You who are the *Ķādī* of the fortress (*Ķal'a*) are to adjudicate whenever a matter relating to the *sharī'a* arises among the fortress-troops who are *Ķuls*,⁵⁹ other matters the fortress commander is to adjudicate, and no one else. The *sharī'a* business of the 'azabs and the *re'īs*,⁶⁰ you, the *Ķādī* are to attend to; all other matters are to be under the jurisdiction of the *Ķapudan*,⁶¹ and nobody else is to intervene. The *dīvānī* matters⁶² of the fortress troops [who are not *Ķuls*], of the 'azabs and of the infidels of the city, which are the concern of *sancaĶbegi*, those 'örfi matters⁶³ the *sancaĶbegi* will decide: the fortress-commander and the *Ķapudan* are not to intervene in matters which the *sancaĶbegi* is to attend to – particularly such affairs of the infidels

⁵⁵ *AĶkerman*: Bilhorod-Dnistrovskiy. This *Ķānūnnāme* regulating the customs and other fiscal and administrative matters was drawn up immediately after the Ottoman conquest of AĶkerman in 1484.

⁵⁶ Rūs: 'Russia', the Grand Duchy of Moscow.

⁵⁷ *Arşun*: a measure of length, probably about 68 cm.

⁵⁸ *Beglik*: the property of the sultan; belonging to the treasury.

⁵⁹ *Ķuls* ('slaves'): here presumably Janissaries.

⁶⁰ *Re'īs* ('captain'): probably here the captain of a vessel allocated to the defence of the port and fortress.

⁶¹ *Ķapudān*: captain, usually of a fleet or squadron of ships. Here probably the commander of the ships defending the port and castle of AĶkerman.

⁶² *Dīvānī* matters: cases that are heard in the *sancaĶbegi*'s *dīvān* rather than in the *Ķādī*'s court.

⁶³ 'Örfi matters: like 'dīvānī matters', cases decided by customary ('örfi) law before the *sancaĶbegi*.

as are the concern of the *sancaḳbegi* are to be decided only by the *sancaḳbegi*. No other procedure than this is to be followed.

Written on the last day of Rajab 889 (23 August 1484).

2h A command written to the *ḳāḏī* and the fortress-commander [and the *emīn*] of Kili⁶⁴

A command was written to the *ḳāḏī* and the fortress-commander [and the *emīn*] of Kili to this effect:

I have made all the shops in the fortress of Kili *beglik*. You, the *emīn*, are to make a list of all the shops and submit it: you are to rent them out and to collect and hold the proceeds. I have made the *iḥtisāb*⁶⁵ of Kili *beglik* also. You, the *emīn*, are to hold for the *beglik* the proceeds of the *iḥtisāb* [as they arise] according to the traditional custom and record them in your register. The *ḥammām* also is *beglik*: you are to hold the proceeds from that, too, for the *beglik*.

The fortress-commander, it is reported, has carried out some repairs and has held the income arising over a short period [to cover the expenses]. You [the *emīn*] are to discover what his expenses have been and how much he has retained from the income: if, to meet the expenses, he needs more than the income he has retained, you are to pay him [what is necessary].

...

You, the *emīn*, are to appoint your men at the quay (*iskele*) and at the customs and for the collection of the tithe from fish and to see that the revenue is levied, so that nothing is lost.

The priests in the fortress have, it is reported, asked permission to depart. You are to grant them permission and let them go wherever they wish, with nobody obstructing them.

When any of the fortress-troops or the *'azabs* wish to marry a woman or girl from among the infidels of the city, you are to permit him to marry according to the *sharī'a*, provided that the infidels agree and there has been no compulsion.

It is reported that the horse herd (*hergeleci*) who formerly looked after the infidels' horses in the city, having fled to Moldavia and taking the horses with him, has returned with some of the horses; you are to return any such horses to the owners whose ownership is [attested] according to the *sharī'a*, and those whose owners are not known, you are to make *beglik*.

The fortress-commander and the *ḳapudan* are to demand nothing from fishermen who bring fish for sale.

...

In matters relating to *beglik* funds of all kinds, the *emīn* is to exercise supervision; financial affairs are the concern of the *emīn*, and no one else is to intervene in them.

Last day of Rajab 889 (23 August 1484).

3 Silver mines

3a Instructions to a farmer of silver mines

The order of the felicitous *niṣān*⁶⁶ is this, that:

Into the hand of [. . .], the bearer of this noble *miṣāl*, who has taken the farm of my mines

⁶⁴ Kili: Kiliya. This command was issued immediately after the conquest of Kiliya in 1484.

⁶⁵ *Iḥtisāb*: market regulations; the money accruing from fines for breaches of market regulations.

⁶⁶ *Niṣān* ('sign'): the sultan's cypher at the head of the document, guaranteeing its authenticity.

in Srebrenica, Sase and Rudnik and of the land of Laz⁶⁷ and of their villages of associates (*yamak*), I have given this decree, and I have commanded that he is to go and is most strictly to set the infidels of these mines and their associates to work in the pits and at the refineries according to the rules and regulations (*kānūn ve kā'ide*) which have come down from of old⁶⁸ and is to punish those who refuse to work, but just roam about.

The priests and the elders (*knez*) and the foremen of the miners of these mines and of the associates' villages and all people, high and low, are to render complete obedience to this 'āmil and his men and always apply themselves to their work: if anyone is refractory and refuses to obey, the 'āmil is to set him to work. No one but the 'āmil and his men is to concern himself with my *hāṣṣa* mines and their villages of associates. The *sancaḳbegis* and the *kādīs* and *subaṣīs* of those regions and their representatives are to give every assistance with regard to my moneys (*māl*) and my agents, and not proffer excuses: let them know that otherwise they will incur punishment from me and that I will bring a heavy calamity (*belā*) on them.

Furthermore, many *re'āyā* from my *hāṣṣa* mines and their villages of associates have, it is said, dispersed and gone off. This being so, I have commanded that wherever the bearer finds *re'āyā* listed in the register, authenticated by the *niṣān* (*niṣānlu*) which he has, the *kādīs* and *subaṣīs* of those places are to give orders and fetch them back to their homes. No one is to hinder him: if anyone does, he is to report it to my Porte for me to punish [the offender].

3b Extract from a register for Bosnia, 1489

This place [Kreševo] is a silver mine. Since the district was conquered, the *kānūn* has been to this effect that: When they dig out the earth and bring it to the head of the pit, from this earth called *ruda*,⁶⁹ the tithe is taken: and when the miners have 'burned' the earth left to them and made of it refined silver, again the tithe of that silver is taken. When the farmer ('*ameldār*) puts the earth which he has taken into the oven to heat it, all the expenses fall upon him: the *re'āyā* render him nothing. They do not have to assist him in melting it and extracting the pure silver.

Those who are miners do not pay *ḥarāc* and *ispence*: they pay 1 *filori*⁷⁰ per house (*ev*). They pay tithes on all kinds of cereals according to the custom ('*ādet*). They pay hive and vegetable garden and pig taxes. They are exempt (*mu'āf ve müselle*m) from all '*avārīz* and *tekālīf-i 'örfīyye*.⁷¹ They hold the felicitous decree to this effect, and the provisions have accordingly been entered in [this] register.

4 Jizya

4a Instructions to a jizya-collector

The reason for the writing . . . of the felicitous decree is this:

I have sent the bearer, the scribe (*kātib*) . . . to collect the *ḥarāc* of the regions of Grebena⁷²

⁶⁷ *Laz*: the despotate of Serbia.

⁶⁸ That is, from before the Ottoman occupation. Mehmed II conquered the silver-mining districts in Serbia in the campaigns of 1454 and 1455.

⁶⁹ *Ruda*: (Slavonic) 'ore'.

⁷⁰ *Filori*: a gold coin; florin.

⁷¹ '*Avārīz*, *tekālīf-i 'örfīyye*: extra-ordinary taxes, normally levied in times of war.

⁷² Grevená (in northern Greece).

and Premeti⁷³ for the year 880 (1475/6), and I have ordered that he is to go and collect the *ḥarāc* of those regions, acting with complete uprightness, and to bring it to my Porte in accordance with [the date of] the register.

He is to inspect the *berāts*⁷⁴ of all persons in those regions who have received *berāts* in respect of abandoned *mezra* 'as⁷⁵ in order to see whose terms have expired, and on the infidels congregated on such lands he is to impose *ḥarāc*.

Wherever *ḥarāc*-paying *re 'āyā* have fled from a *tīmār*, he is to take half the *ḥarāc* in question from the *tīmār*-holder and the other half from the infidels remaining there: he is to list and report the names of the infidels who have fled so that I may send a *kul*⁷⁶ to search them out and deport them to Anatolia and take their sons for Janissary service.

It has been reported that, when an infidel dies, they take the *ḥarāc* only from his relatives and not from his fellow villagers. My command is as follows: if such a deceased infidel has left an inheritance (*tereke*), then in the first place the *ḥarāc* is to be taken from that; if he has left no inheritance, it is to be taken from the person who is now holding his *baştina*.⁷⁷ if he left no *baştina* but an inheritance that has passed to his relatives, then the *ḥarāc* is to be taken from that, so far as it is sufficient, but, if it is not sufficient, then from [the deceased's fellow-] villagers. The collector is to remove [the dead man's] name from the register, but he is not to take the *ḥarāc* only from his relations.

The *sancaḳ begis* and *kādīs* and *subaşıs* and their representatives and the *nā'ibs*⁷⁸ and *kethüdās* and *tīmār*-holders of that region are to collect together the infidels under their jurisdiction and to present them before my *ḥarāc*-collector and to exert themselves to see that their *ḥarāc* is paid quickly, for I have instructed my collector that his going and collecting and returning is not to take longer than four months from 1 Sha'bān 881 (19 November 1476) and, if possible, less. Thus, if anyone shows slackness or negligence in the matter of the collection of my money, then by the soul of the Hüdāvendgār, I will not stop short of taking back his *tīmār*, but will punish him severely.

The collector, having taken the money that is really mine, is to take from every house 2 *aḳçe* as 'secretarial tax' (*resm-i kitābet*), but not a farthing more.

I have sent this collector with all the registers of those regions, which have my felicitous *nişān* written at the beginning and the date at the end, and I have commanded that the criers (*dellāl*) and magistrates (*ḥükkām*) of the region are to supervise the *ḥarāc*-collector: he is not to take one *aḳçe* without their cognizance, and they are to weigh, in one another's presence, the *ḥarāc* collected each day.

You who are *kādī* are to make a separate register. My *ḥarāc*-collector is to take charge of the money and, after the collection is finished, you are to write out a copy of the register you have drawn up, village by village, and give it to my collector and send it to my Porte with a letter making a report. If there is any doubt about the name of an infidel, my register is to be consulted, and it is to be accepted in the form in which it is written there. If like previous [officials], [the *kādīs*] are negligent and ignore this order and do not take a full part in the collection of the *ḥarāc*, then, by the soul of the Hüdāvendgār, I will not stop short of taking away

⁷³ Permeti (in southern Albania).

⁷⁴ *Berāt*: a diploma of appointment by the sultan.

⁷⁵ *Mezra* 'a: an area of cultivated land without a settlement.

⁷⁶ *Kul*: a servant of the sultan.

⁷⁷ *Baştina*: a peasant tenement in the Balkans.

⁷⁸ *Nā'ib*: a deputy *kādī*.

their appointments (*manşib*), but will visit them with heavy afflictions: let them not pretend that they have not been warned.

When the collector arrives at a place, he is to send an agent to the villages around to issue a warning: but his agent is not to take one farthing from anybody. The *tīmār*-holder of each village is in person to bring his infidels before my collector and to render assistance in completing the collection of the *ḥarāc*.

However many [widowed] women and dead infidels there may be, [the collector] is to collect their *ḥarāc* in a separate [account] and bring it to my Porte. When he is taking the *ḥarāc*, he is not to say 'Your *ḥarāc* is so much', but just demand the *ḥarāc*: if they give more than is written in the register, he is to enter it separately with their names and to bring the list to my Porte.

The one *aḳçe* per house (*ev*) which the *il kethüdās* have hitherto brought in, he is to collect according to the register, without any deficiency, and bring to my Porte in (?) advance (*karşu*) by his subordinate (*adam*). He is not to show any negligence. He is not to enquire after new payers (*nev-yäfte*) in these regions, but if he finds that any entered as 'dead' are, in fact, alive, he is to enter the fact.

Thus they are to know . . .

4b Two extracts from a *jizya* register

ACCOUNTS for the *jizya* of the infidels of the *vilāyets* of Argirokeasri⁷⁹ and Zagorya⁸⁰ in the *sancaḳ* of Albania, due for the year 893 (1487/8), written on 5 Şafar 895 (29 December 1489), with the cognizance of the secretary Luṭfî.

Vilāyet of Argirokeasri

<i>ḥānes</i> , ⁸¹ including widows	<i>jizya</i>
original 5,760	160,918
(checked by Derviş 'Alî)	
Subtract	
18	476
lost over the year, being those who fled from the village of Vişani, according to the <i>ḥüccet</i> of the <i>kādî</i> of Argirokeasri, Aḥmed b. Maḥmūd.	
add [to the year's figure of]:	
5,742	160,442
new payers (<i>nev-yäfte</i>) over the year, without widows, 472 [persons] at 5 <i>aḳçe</i> :	2,360
new payers in respect of <i>baştinas</i> and <i>iltizām-i sipāhīyān</i> , ⁸² 13 of them being <i>baştinas</i> :	789
38	

⁷⁹ Argirokeasri: Gjirokastër

⁸⁰ Zagorya: Zagori

⁸¹ *Ḥāne*: a house; a household as a taxable unit, 'hearth'.

⁸² This term perhaps refers to tax-farms granted to *tīmār*-holding *sipāhīs* to supplement the inadequate income from their *tīmārs*.

Vilāyet of Zağorya

1,935	51,712
supplement for the <i>jizya</i> of new payers, over the year, without widows, 158 at 5 <i>aḳçe</i> :	
790	
total: 1,935	52,502

Together

original: 7,695	212,630
subtract, lost over the year, as above:	
18	476
add (to the year's figure of): 7,677	
new payers (as above): 38	
supplement for new payers, without widows, 630 at 5 <i>aḳçe</i> :	3,150

Total including taxes (rūsūm)

<i>hānes</i> 7,715	<i>jizya</i> : 216,073
secretarial- and accounting-tax at 1 <i>aḳçe</i> per 10 <i>hānes</i> :	771
accounting-tax at 2 per 1,000 [<i>aḳçe</i>]:	432
'one- <i>aḳçe</i> tax' [<i>per hāne</i>]:	7,715
'hand-kissing' tax (' <i>adet</i>) 200 [<i>aḳçe</i>] per 1,000 <i>hānes</i> :	1,543
From this:	
paid into the Imperial Treasury, [?] Şafar, 895	222,575
pay for the staff of the Arġiroḳasrı mosque, 17 Sha'bān 894 (16 June 1489) to 17 Sha'bān 895 (6 July 1490) at 6 [<i>aḳçe</i>]	
per day:	2,160
portorage and cost of sacks:	[no figure]
Balance:	3,959

Received at the Treasury in full, 6 Şafar 895 (30 December 1489)

*4c Accounts for the jizya of the infidels of the vilāyet of Menlik*⁸³

tīmār of His Excellency İbrāhīm Paşa⁸⁴

due for the year 894 (1488/9): written on 2 Muḥarram 896 (15 November 1490) with the cognizance of the secretary Kemāl, agent of His Excellency the Paşa.

original:	<i>hānes</i>	<i>jizya</i>
	2,741	245,230
	widows	
	189	3,697
total:		248,927

⁸³ Melnik.

⁸⁴ Çandarlı İbrāhīm Paşa (1429–99), grand vizier 1498–9.

from this:

Annual stipend of His Excellency Ibrāhīm Paşa, added to his <i>tīmār</i> , per annum:	180,000
Pay of the <i>imām</i> and the <i>mü'ezzin</i> of the mosque of Menlik at 2 <i>ağçe</i> per day:	720
Porterage and cost of sacks:	270
porterage, 1 load:	250
sacks and rope, 2 bags:	20
Balance:	67,937

Received in full, 2 Muḥarram, 897 (5 November 1491).

5 Debasement of the coinage

5a Debasement under Mehmed II

The order of the felicitous *nişan* . . . is this that:

I have sent the bearer, my *kul* [. . .], to the *sancaqs* of Ayasuluğ,⁸⁵ Aydın, Saruḥān and Menteşe, and to the district of Toñuzlu⁸⁶ to carry out the injunction (*yasak*) concerning silver and old *ağçes*, and I have commanded that he is to go and search the shops and the *bedestans*,⁸⁷ the caravanserais, the ships and the merchants in the harbours and the baggage of travellers: if anyone is found in possession of [ingot-]silver not bearing my *kul*'s stamp or of old *ağçe* coins, it is to be taken to my mint and [the owner] is to be given [only] 2 *ağçe* per *dirhem*⁸⁸ for it. He is to forbid any dealing or trading in the old *ağçe*: and if anyone does trade with them, my *kul* is to arrest and punish him. To people working in towns in precious metals, like jewellers and drawers of silver wire, silver may be sold up to 200 *dirhems*, but no more. If anyone is found in possession of counterfeit coins, [my *kul*] is to bring him before the *sancaqbegi* and the *kādī*, and they are to examine him; if it is proven according to the *sharī'a* that the person is a counterfeiter, they are to give my *kul* a *hüccet* for him to hang the offender and to confiscate his possessions for the *beglik* . . .

5b A debasement heralds a mutiny⁸⁹

On 4 Jumādā'l-ukhrā 997 (20 April 1589), while the army under Ferhād Paşa was in winter quarters in Erzurum, Süleymān Çavuş arrived from the capital with imperial orders and other letters. He also brought news of quite inconceivable events.

When the majority of the household cavalry returned from the Gānjā campaign, they went to the palace [to receive their pay]. However, five coins are [now] being cut from one old [withdrawn] one, no one is being punished for this, and there is no value left in the currency. While it used to be sultanic law that 500 *ağçe* coins be cut from 100 *dirhem*⁹⁰ of silver, the

⁸⁵ Ayasuluğ: Selçuk, Ephesus.

⁸⁶ Toñuzlu: Denizli.

⁸⁷ *Bedestan*: a covered market; the central commercial building in a town.

⁸⁸ *Dirhem*: a measure of weight, about 3.2 g.

⁸⁹ My thanks to Dr Christine Woodhead for permitting me to use her translation of this linguistically puzzling extract.

⁹⁰ *Dirhem*: in 1585, the weight of the *ağçe* had been reduced from 0.682 gm to 0.384 g.

same weight of silver is now being turned into 2,000 worthless *aķçe* coins which are no good for anything. By degrees, a *dirhem* of silver came to be traded for 12 *aķçe* coins, and a *ķuruş*,⁹¹ which used to be worth 40 *aķçe*, is now traded for 80; the exchange rate for a gold coin has risen from 60 to 120 *aķçe*. As a result, merchants have doubled their prices, and the costs of food and clothing have risen accordingly. [But] anyone whose salary is valued at [the old rate for] ten gold coins now receives, in effect, the equivalent of only five. The cavalry therefore went in a body to Şeyhî Efendi,⁹² the chief *mufitî*, taking their debased *aķçe* coins, and posed the following question: ‘Our salary has been paid in these so-called *aķçe* coins, but no one will accept them, and we are obliged to use force to pay with these for food and clothing. Is what we buy in this way licit?’ Şeyhî Efendi ruled that it was illicit.

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- 3b Beldiceanu, *Actes*, II, no. 31.
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- 4b Halil İnalçık, ‘XV. asır Osmanlı maliyesine dair vesikaları’, *Tarih Vesikaları*, 1/16 (1955), 130–2.
- 4c Ö. L. Barkan, ‘894 (1488–89) yılı cizyesinin teşkilâtına ait muhasebe bilançoları’, *Belgeler*, 1/i, (1964), 45.
- 5a Beldiceanu, *Actes*, I, no. 2; Anhegger and İnalçık, *Ķānūnnāme-i Sultānî*, no. 2; Akgündüz, *Osmanlı Kanūnnāmeleri*, 1, 573.
- 5b Mustafa Selānikî, ed. Mehmed İpşirli, *Tarih-i Selānikî*, I, Istanbul (1989), 209–10.

⁹¹ *Ķuruş* (‘Groschen’): a large silver coin, in this period imported from Europe.

⁹² Mü‘eyyedzāde ‘Abdü’l-ķādir Şeyhî Efendi: chief *mufitî* from 1587 to 1589.

Waqfs

SECTION 1 FOUNDATION AND FUNCTION

A *waqf* (Turkish: *vakf*) is a trust where the founder (Arabic: *wāqif*; Turkish: *vākıf*) makes an endowment of property to be dedicated in perpetuity to the charitable cause named in the deed of trust (Arabic: *waqfiya*; Turkish: *vakfiye*). For a *waqf* to be valid in law, the founder had to be the owner of the property to be converted. He or she had then to go before the *kādī*, as representative of the sultan, and declare his or her intention to convert it to *waqf*. Once the *kādī* had ruled that the *waqf* was valid, the property passed from his or her ownership. The problem in Ḥanafī law was how to make a *waqf* in perpetuity. An opinion attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa gives the founder the right to retract his or her donation; another opinion, attributed to Abū Ḥanīfa's two disciples Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī, deny this right. It was therefore essential that the *kādī* make clear in his ruling that the founder was following the opinion of the 'two disciples' and that the *waqf* was to be non-retractable, hence the procedure adopted in Ottoman courts as shown in passage 1.

Typically, *waqfs* supported religious institutions, providing finance for the construction and maintenance of mosques and dervish convents (*zāviyes*) and paying the salaries of their staffs. Passages 2 and 3 demonstrate that *waqfs* also supported Islamic education, from primary schools to the higher *medreses* attached to sultanic and vizieral mosques. In the countryside in particular, part of the *waqf*-income of *zāviyes* was often dedicated to lodging travellers; passages 3, 4b, 4c, 5b and 7b give testimony to that effect. In the cities, the soup-kitchens (*'imārets*) attached to large mosques provided sustenance for the poor and the transient, as indicated in passage 2.

While the townscapes of Ottoman cities were dominated by mosques, bath-houses and other public buildings endowed as *waqf* by sultans, viziers and the wealthy, the hundreds of smaller *waqfs* established by persons of modest means were equally important in maintaining the social fabric of Ottoman society. A second type of *waqf* was the family trust. In Islamic law a testator may bequeath only one-third of his or her property to nominated heirs. The remaining two-thirds goes in fixed proportions to members of his or her family. This has the effect of dividing up property on the owner's death. As evident from passages 4a, 4b, 4c, 6, 8, as well as SECTION 2, passage 1 below, many people chose to convert their private property to *waqf*, nominating their chosen relatives

and heirs as beneficiaries. According to **SECTION 2, passage 1** below, they could also nominate themselves and their heirs as administrators (*mütevelli*) of the *waqf*. In this way, the property remained intact, in principle in perpetuity, and would descend to the founder's chosen heirs.

In the period of Ottoman expansion in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries *waqfs* also served as instruments of colonisation. The sultans would grant possession of land in newly conquered areas to dervishes who – sometimes after expelling its original inhabitants, as seen in passages **4a** and **4b** – would convert it to *waqf* and use the income to establish *zāviyes* which might then form the nucleus of a new settlement. In cases at the one described in passages **5a** and **5b**, the same family could occupy a *waqf*-property acquired in this way for centuries.

1 Founding a *waqf*

Question: When a man wishes to make part of his property *waqf*, what action should he take to make the *waqf* binding?

Answer: After he has made the *waqf* and determined the expenses to be paid out in perpetuity, he should go to the *kāḍī* and state that he has made the *waqf*, determined the expenses, and handed over [the property] to the *mütevelli*: after the *mütevelli* has confirmed this, [the endower] should say, 'By the ruling of Abū Ḥanīfa, this is not a *waqf*; I retract and take back the property', and demand the property from the *mütevelli*. The latter should refuse to give the property up, saying, 'It is binding by the ruling of the two imāms'.¹ The *kāḍī* must say, 'I give judgement that the *waqf* is valid and binding', after which there can be no retraction. (Ebū's-su'ūd).

2 A vizieral *waqf*

Waqf of the late Maḥmūd Paşa²

For the noble congregational mosque (*cāmi* 'i *ṣerīf*), *imāret*, *medrese*, school and mosques in Istanbul, and the congregational mosques and mosques³ in Rümeli and Anaṭoli. Transacted on 11 Şafar 878 (8 July 1473), signed by the *kāḍī* 'asker Mevlānā 'Alī b. Yūsuf el-Fenārī.

Capital endowments in the city of Istanbul etc.

In Istanbul	Per annum
Shops by the <i>medrese</i> of the said founder: 11	3,384
Shops by the rooms for bachelors: 4	720
Dyers' shops by the poultry-market: 14	7,068
Shops opposite the dyers' shops: 14	2,688
2 shops opposite the school (<i>mu</i> 'allimḥāne) of the founder	324
Shop and depot by the <i>imāret</i> of the said founder	300

¹ 'The two imāms' are Abū Yūsuf and al-Shaybānī.

² Grand vizier to Mehmed II, executed 1474.

³ A congregational mosque (*cāmi*) is a large urban mosque where the congregational prayer is held on Friday. A smaller mosque is a *mescid*.

3 shops by the garden of the noble congregational mosque (<i>cāmi'-i şerīf</i>)	1,020
Numerous houses (<i>hānehā</i>) and rooms (<i>hücerāt</i>) opposite the <i>medrese</i> of the said founder: 35	8,784
9 houses near the ' <i>imāret</i> of the founder	2,556
16 ground-floor rooms by the garden of the noble congregational mosque	3,840
13 ground- and upper-floor rooms near the ' <i>imāret</i> of the said founder	4,740
13 rooms near Ḥayrū'd-Dīn Paşa's house	2,880
5 rooms in front of the stable for travellers	840
Garden by the noble congregational mosque	2,000
Caravanserai and shops near the bath-house	10,700
Plot leased (<i>zemīn-i maqtū'</i>) to the <i>waqfs</i> of 'Abdü's-Selām Beg	4,948
Plot leased to the <i>waqfs</i> of Aya Sofya	3,360
Plot leased to various [lessees]	2,160

Waqf of the said deceased which he made for the benefit of his descendants

His descendants have now died out. In accordance with the conditions [stipulated by] the founder, it has been retained for expenses of the '*imāret* of the said founder.

Double bath-house by the ' <i>imāret</i> of the said founder	63,000
Houses of the said founder in the Kāsım Paşa el-Cezerī quarter	5,040
Share in the <i>başhāne</i> ⁴	660
3 houses by the bath-house of the said founder	1,860
Rooms by the houses of Maḥmūd Çelebi the <i>defterdār</i>	144
50 shops near the said bath-house	16,700
36 shops opposite the said shops	10,044
12 upper and ground-floor rooms opposite the said bath-house	2,424
11 rooms by the storeroom of the founder's ' <i>imāret</i>	2,040
Plot leased out near the Şengül bath-house	812
Plot leased to various [lessees]	598
Market-garden by the houses of the said founder	---

In Rūmeli

In the city of Edirne

Double bath-house in the tanners' quarter	20,000
Upper and ground-floor rooms known as the Armoury, in the 'Īsā Beg quarter	2,500
House in the Saruca Paşa quarter	360
Plot near Taşlık, leased to various [lessees]	1,670

⁴This seems to be a shop for selling sheep's heads and trotters.

In various villages

Village of Çatalca and the villages of Bosna, Hurb and Martenek, with their dependencies, in the <i>każā</i> ⁵ of Silivri	120,000
Village of Hāşş, and the villages of Oşmanlu, Kulağuzlu and Musuca, in the <i>każā</i> of Kırkkilise	42,600
Village of Veled-i Süle, with its dependencies, in the said <i>każā</i>	5,774
Bath-house and shops in the village of Hāşş	13,179
Village of Çene, with its dependencies, in the <i>każā</i> of Hayrabolu	26,000
Villages of Mehler, Ulubeglu and Sofiler in the <i>każā</i> of Akçakızanlu	61,587
Village of Vigoşta, in the <i>każā</i> of Drama	35,797
Bath-house and shops in the town of Gügercinlik ⁶	800

In Anaṭoli

In the city of Bursa

Khan in the said city	49,000
Shops by the said khan in the said city	1,000

In the city of Ankara

Covered market: 102 [shops]	35,000
Numerous shops in the said city	14,596
Caravanserai in the said city	4,667
<i>Başhāne</i> in the said city	2,640
Market-garden in the town of Midillü ⁷	---

Books allotted to the *medrese* in Istanbul

Tafsīr, 23 volumes; *hadīth*, 31; *uşūl al-ḥadīth*, 11; *uşūl al-fiqh*, 13; *furū*⁸, 49; books on Arabic, 35; books on logic, 9; books on *ḥikma*; books of prayers (*da'avāt*), 11⁸

Books allocated to the *medrese* in the village of Hāşş

Tafsīr, 8 volumes; *hadīth*, 11; *uşūl al-ḥadīth*, 6; *uşūl al-fiqh*, 10; *furū*⁹, 17; books on Arabic, 17; books on logic, 8; books on *ḥikma*, 3; books on astronomy, 4; the book of the *Mathnawī*,⁹ [-]; books of prayers, [-].

⁵ *Każā*: the judicial and administrative district of a *kađī*.

⁶ Golubac in Serbia.

⁷ Midillü is the Turkish name for Mitylene on Lesbos. This probably refers to a different Midillü.

⁸ *Tafsīr*: Qur'ānic exegesis; *hadīth*: traditions of the Prophet; *uşūl al-ḥadīth*: methodology for the study of *hadīth*; *uşūl al-fiqh*: methodology for the study of jurisprudence; *furū*⁸ [*al-fiqh*]: substantive law; *ḥikma*: literally 'wisdom'. Its sense here is not clear.

⁹ *Mathnawī*: presumably the *Mathnawī* of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī.

EXPENSES

For Medina the Enlightened. In gold. Coins: 1,000

Pay of the staff of the *medrese* in the city of Istanbul

	per day	per year
Pay of the <i>müderris</i> ¹⁰	50	
Pay of the <i>mu'īd</i> ¹¹	5	
Pay of the students	30	
Pay of the doorkeeper	2	
Pay of the librarian	5	
Total	92	33,120

Pay of the staff of the noble congregational mosque in the said city

		per year
Pay of the imam	15	
Pay of the muezzins, 2 at 5	10	
Pay of the <i>ḳayyūms</i> , 2 at 3	6	
Pay of the lamplighter	3	
Pay of the <i>mu'arrif</i> ¹²	4	
Pay of the <i>devirḥvāns</i> , ¹³ 9 at 3	27	
Pay of the teacher of orphans	5	
Pay of the reciters of <i>eczā'</i> , ¹⁴ 5 at 2	10	
Total	101	56,360

Pay of the staff of the *'imāret* in Istanbul

Pay of the director of the <i>'imāret</i>	10	
Cellar-keeper	5	
Major-domo	5	
Head-servants, 2 at 3	6	
Cooks, 3 at 3	9	
<i>Tevlīyet</i> , ¹⁵ 2 at 2½	5	
Dish-washer	2½	
Bakers, 2 @ 3	6	
Meat-porter	2½	
Stableman	2½	
Corn-grinder	1	
Sweeper of the <i>medrese</i>	2	
Total	56½	20,340

¹⁰ *Müderris*: a professor at a *medrese*.

¹¹ *Mu'īd*: a teaching assistant.

¹² *Mu'arrif*: an usher at the Friday Prayer.

¹³ *Devirḥvān*: a member of a group that recited the Qur'ān in relays.

¹⁴ *Eczā'*: plural of *cüz'*, one-thirtieth part of the Qur'ān.

¹⁵ *Tevlīyet* would normally mean the office or functions of a *mütevelli*, here perhaps assistants of the *mütevelli*.

Pay of the staff of the *medrese* and noble congregational mosque in the village of Hāṣṣ

Pay of the <i>müderris</i>	20	
Pay of students	20	
Pay of the doorkeeper	2	
Pay of preacher and imam	10	
Pay of teacher of orphans	5	
Pay of <i>mü'ezzins</i> , 2 at 2½	5	
Pay of reciters of <i>eczā'</i> , 5 at 2	10	
Pay of <i>ḳayyūm</i>	2	
Pay of servant in the caravanserai	1	
Pay of handymen, 2 at 1	2	
Pay of revenue-collectors, 2 at 5	10	
(Collection from the said village, per day:	5)	
(Collection from Edirne, per day:	5)	
For the annual subsistence of the staff of the said mosque, wheat 350 <i>keyl</i> ¹⁶	–	
Cost of oil, candles and matting	2	
Total	94	33,840

Pay of the staff of the noble congregational mosque in the city of Sofia

Pay of preacher	10	
Pay of imam	6	
Pay of <i>mü'ezzin</i>	3	
Pay of <i>sermahfil</i>	2	
Pay of Qur'ān reciters and <i>mu'arrif</i> , 6 at 1	6	
Pay of <i>ḳayyūm</i>	3	
Cost of oil, candles and matting	2	
Total	32	11,520

Salaries of the staff in the city of Bursa

Pay of imam of the mosque at the khan	4	
Pay of <i>mü'ezzin</i> of the said mosque	2	
Pay of revenue-collector of the <i>waqfs</i>	5	
Pay of handyman	1	
Pay of water carrier	2	
Pay of rubbish-collector	2	
Cost of oil, candles and matting	2	
Total	17	6,120

¹⁶ *Keyl, kile*: a measure of weight, here probably about 25.6 kg.

Salaries of the staff in the city of Ankara

Pay of <i>hāfīzes</i> ¹⁷ in the noble congregational mosque of Şeyh Hāccī Bayram, ¹⁸ 10 at 1	10	
Pay of imam of the mosque in the covered market	2	
Pay of the <i>mü'ezzin</i> of the said mosque	1	
Pay of imam in the mosque at the khan	2	
Pay of the <i>mü'ezzin</i> at the said mosque	1	
Pay of handyman	3	
Pay of watchmen	5	
Pay of water carrier	1	
Cost of revenue-collection	10	
Cost of food for the servants of Şeyh Hāccī Bayram	5	
Total	40	14,400

Pay of various staff

Pay of Mevlānā the <i>kādī'asker</i>	5	
Pay of <i>mütevelli</i>	50	
Pay of <i>nāzīr</i> ¹⁹	30	
Pay of secretary of the <i>'imāret</i>	7	
Pay of revenue-collector for Istanbul	5	
Pay of handyman	3	
Pay of water carrier (<i>rahābī</i>)	4	
Pay of sweeper	3	
Pay of miller	3	
Pay of imam of Serv mosque	2	
Pay of <i>mü'ezzin</i> of the said mosque	1	
Pay of imam of the Şeref Ağa mosque	3	
Pay of <i>mü'ezzin</i> of the said mosque	2	
Cost of oil, candles and matting for the said two mosques	2	
Pay of revenue-collector for the village of Çatalca	8	
– for the village of Çöke	5	
– for the village of Veled-i Süle	5	
– for the village of Vidagošta	5	
– for the village of Mehler	4	
Pay of secretary for the said village[s]	4	
Total	151	54,360

¹⁷ *Hāfīz*: a person who has memorised the Qur'ān

¹⁸ Hāccī Bayram of Ankara (d.1430) was the founder of the Bayrami order of dervishes.

¹⁹ *Nāzīr*: the general overseer of a *waqf*.

Expenses for the kitchen of the *'imāret* of the late Maḥmūd Paşa, in accordance with the *waqfīya*.

Rice	Kile
For cooking <i>dāne</i> , <i>zerde</i> ²⁰ and <i>zīrebāc</i> ²¹ on the nights in Ramaḍān and every Friday night	6
For cooking <i>dāne</i> and <i>zerde</i> on the day of the Two Festivals	6
For cooking soup, every day	2
Wheat for soup, every day	½
Flour	
For bread, every day	8
For soup, every 6 days	1
Salt	
For bread, every 10 days	1
For soup, every 6 days	1
Chickpeas, every 10 days	1

Almonds, every night: ½ *vuḳīyye*²²; starch, every night: 1 *vuḳīyye*; red *meviz*: 12 *vuḳīyye*; black plums: 3 *vuḳīyye*; apricots: 3 *vuḳīyye*; saffron: 30 *dirhems*²³

	Per day	Per year
Cost of meat	100	
Feeding guests		5,000
Preserves and pickles		2,000
Cost of firewood		7,000
Cost of dishes	2	
Cost of matting	1	
Oil and candles	2	
Cost of vegetables and minor expenses	2	

Endowment income from the *waqfs* of the said late Maḥmūd Paşa in a complete year:

	<u>606,513</u>
Subtract expenses	<u>396,313</u>

For the poor of Medina the Enlightened (may God ennoble it), [paid in] gold. 1,000 coins at 59

	59,000	
Salaries		210,060
Kitchen expenses etc		127,144½
Balance		<u>210,200</u>

²⁰ *Zerde*: sweetened saffron rice.

²¹ *Zīrebāc*: stew flavoured with cumin.

²² *Vuḳīyye*: an *okka*, measure of weight: c1.3 kg.

²³ *Dirhem*: a measure of weight, 1/400th of an *okka*, probably about 3.3 gr.

Stipulations of the late endower: the post of *mütevelli* to go to his sons and his sons' sons and, after extinction, to the most pious of the sons of his freedmen and, after extinction, to the most upright of the sons of the sons of his freedmen, generation after generation and, after extinction, the matter to be referred to the *pādiṣāh* the Refuge of the World that a suitable pious person be appointed. Income to be expended firstly on repairs, then to the stipulated expenses and pay of the staff; 1,000 *filori*²⁴ to the poor of Medina; if the *mütevelli* is a freedman or an outsider, he is not to receive more than 50 *aḳçe* a day.

The endower also stipulated: if the surplus accumulated to the extent that it could pay for the building of a congregational mosque, then a congregational mosque is to be built in Edirne. If there was still a surplus, then 100,000 *aḳçe* is to be kept permanently in reserve, and the *mütevelli* is authorised to expend any surplus beyond this in payments to deserving freedmen and descendants of freedmen of the endower and to pious *'ulemā*.

The endower also stipulated: so long as one of his freedmen is fit to occupy any post laid down in the *waqfiya*, that post is not to be given to anyone else. Written in the second decade of Şafar 878 (8–20 August 1473).

Now [953/1546] the revenue of the *waqfs* has permitted the building of a congregational mosque in Edirne and, after 100,000 *aḳçe* [are kept in reserve according to the stipulations of the endower, some 100,000 *aḳçe*] per year remain for equitable allocation to the *'ulemā* and the poor according to the stipulation of the endower.

The present *mütevelli* is 'Alī Beg.

3 A new *waqf*

Waqf of Hāccī Memi son of Yaḥyā Faḳīh. At Yer Kesigi in the *kaḳā* of Muḡla he built a *zāviye*; near the *zāviye* he made a water-point; by the village, he dug a well and built a caravanserai, making it a *waqf* for those who should lodge there; and he also built a school.

For the expenses of the <i>zāviye</i> , 2000 <i>aḳçe</i> in cash, producing:	400 per year
Two shops in the market of Yer Kesigi, producing:	50 per year
For the expenses of the water point and the well:	500 <i>aḳçe</i> in cash
One shop in the market, producing:	120 per year
For the caravanserai, 200, producing at interest:	40 per year
For the expenses of the school:	2,500 <i>aḳçe</i> in cash
A <i>ḥarāc</i> -paying vineyard of three <i>dönüm</i> , from the vineyards at Yaḳa.	

His half-share of the summer-pasture called *Ḳaymaḳçioḡlu Yurdu*, for the teacher to live there in the summer.

He made *waqf* eight shop-sites, let at 24 *aḳçe* per year, producing: 650 per year (*sic*)

He stipulated that the teacher, besides teaching the children, should recite one *cüz* ' for the soul of the Prophet every day except Friday.

For the stipend of the *mütevelli*, 1,800 *aḳçe* cash, producing at interest: 360 per year.

The post of *mütevelli* to himself, then to his son Ṭayyib, and then to the most suitable of his descendants.

²⁴ *Filori*: 'florin', a gold coin.

4 *Waqfs* established by conquerors and colonisers

4a *The waqf of Murād I*

Tuğra of Murād I

The command of this document is this: The land possessed by Şeyh Ulaş, the bearer of this document, was made into a *waqf* and given to him by Rüstem Beg. It was the private property (*mülk*) [of Rüstem Beg] from which he had expelled and scattered its infidel [inhabitants]. Maintaining it as tax-exempt (*müsellem*), I, for my part, have made it *waqf* for the sons' sons and daughters' daughters [of Şeyh Ulaş]. He is to be exempt from courier[-service],²⁵ corvée labour and all 'avārız'. No one is to harass him. If hereafter anyone contests its validity, may he be accursed . . . In the second decade of [. . . ?] 785 (1383/4).

4b *The waqf of the Şaru Şeyh*

*Çiftlik*²⁶ of Şaru Şeyh in the village [of Karı Yolu]: Of old, Şaru Şeyh expelled the infidels of this place and was given a command and a *hüccet* from the Şaruḥānoğlı²⁷ for a family *waqf* (*vakfiyet-i evlād*). Later, in the time of the late Sultan Meḥmed [II], a timariot named Karagöz claimed the service of the *re'āyā*,²⁸ but judgement was given before the *kādī'asker* Cemālū'd-dīn in favour of the *waqfiya* dated 849 (1445/6), which they held. They also have the *hüccet*²⁹, and [hold] documents in confirmation, dated 858 (1454/5), from Sultan Meḥmed [II]; confirmation by the late Sultan Bāyezīd, dated 887 (1482/3) and a *berāt* from Sultan Selīm (may the dust of both of them be sweet), dated 924 (1518/9). The *çiftlik* is now in the possession of Şaru Şeyh's descendants, Dervis 'Alā'ü'd-Dīn, Ḥamza and Dervish [. . .], by the *berāt*³⁰ of our Pādişāh.

They are *şeyhs* of the *zāviye* of Şaru Şeyh and serve travellers. Date of *berāt* 917 (1511/2).

4c *A note protecting the dervishes who descend from the district's conqueror*

. . . Since the *a'yān*³¹ of the district reported: 'These dervishes (*zāviyedār*) are descendants of the conqueror of the district;³² they are poor men (*fukarā*), fully deserving of protection, who do everything in their power to serve travellers on the road. It is wrong that the *mīrlivā's*³³ *subaşı*s should intervene', a note has been made in the new register that there is to be no intervention by the *mīrlivā*, unless capital punishment (*şalb ü siyāset*)³⁴ is required.

²⁵ This refers to the obligation to provide lodging and horses for couriers carrying messages and commands from and to the sultan.

²⁶ *Çiftlik*: a farm, tenement.

²⁷ The Şaruḥānoğlı: a ruling member of the Şaruḥān dynasty, whose lands Meḥmed I (r. 1413–21) had annexed in 1415. After annexing the principality, the sultan recognised the validity of the *waqf*.

²⁸ That is to say, the *waqf* was converted to a *tīmār* in the reign of Meḥmed II (r. 1451–81). It was re-converted to *waqf* during the reign of his successor, Bāyezīd II.

²⁹ *Hüccet*: 'proof', a confirmatory document issued by a *kādī*.

³⁰ *Berāt*: a diploma of appointment by the sultan.

³¹ *A'yān*: the local notables in a district.

³² 'The district' here is Şebīn Karahisar.

³³ *Mīrlivā*: a *sancaqbegi*.

³⁴ VLM translates *şalb ü siyāset* as 'capital punishment or *siyāset*-punishment'.

5 The *Waqf* of Mūsā

5a *A note on the village of Kızıl Delü, 1412*

Tuğra of Mūsā³⁵

The command of this document is this: The earlier *begs* made the village of Kızıl Delü, the bearer of this writing (*mektüb*), into a *waqf* and made it exempt. Therefore, I too have given into his hand an imperial *nişān*, to this effect: henceforth it is to be immune and exempt; no one – *nā'ib*,³⁶ *hācib*³⁷ or *subaşı*, slave of the Hüdāvendgār³⁸ travelling on his affairs, falconer, keeper of the hounds, traveller – is to go and disturb him. He is to be secure against forced labour or courier [service] . . . Whoever contravenes this command will be held guilty in the eyes of the Hüdāvendgār³⁹ and in my eyes . . . Written in the first decade of Muḥarram 815 (13–22 April 1412).

5b *A register entry on the waqf of Kızıl Delü, sixteenth century*

Waqf: *mezra'a* of Taru Bükü, village of Büyük Vīrān, and the village of Turfillü Vīrān,⁴⁰ possessed from of old as *waqf*. They hold confirmations from past sultans. Later, in the time of the late Sultan Meḥmed [II], it was abrogated and made a *tīmār*. Sultan Bāyezīd [II] reconfirmed it as *waqf* and gave a command which said: 'Gülşehri, İlyās, Bilāl, İshāk and Sinān, descendants of Kızıl Delü, possess it jointly as a family *waqf* (*vakf-ı evlād*), rendering service to travellers who lodge at their *zāviye* . . .'

5c *A renewed berāt for Kızıl Delü Sultan's waqf, 1641/2*

The *kuṭbü'l-ārifin*⁴¹ Kızıl Delü Sultan was granted by the sultans of old the *mezra'as* of Taru Bükü, Büyük Vīrān and Turfillü Vīrān as private property (*mülk*), and he made it a *waqf* for his descendants jointly. Since his descendants, the bearers of this *nişān*, Seyyid 'Abdü'r-rahmān, Seyyid 'Ivaz and Seyyid Zeynel . . . have brought their *berāt* and requested its renewal, I have given them in renewal this my *berāt*, and I have commanded that they are to go and are henceforth to possess jointly these *mezra'as* and, after performing the necessary service, are to occupy themselves in prayer for the soul of the founder and for the continuation of my rule . . .

³⁵ Prince Mūsā ruled the Ottoman Balkans from 1411 to 1413. He was defeated and killed by his brother, Meḥmed [I].

³⁶ *Nā'ib* ('deputy'): this term came to have the sense of 'deputy-*kādī*', which may be its meaning here.

³⁷ *Hācib* ('chamberlain'): the sense here is uncertain; perhaps simply a 'courtier'.

³⁸ *Hüdāvendgār* ('lord'): the sultan.

³⁹ *Hüdāvendgār* ('lord'): God.

⁴⁰ 'Vīrān' means 'ruined, deserted' indicating that these are *mezra'as*, cultivated lands without habitations.

⁴¹ *Kuṭbü'l-ārifin* ('The pole of gnostics'): an honorific title bestowed on revered heads of Sufi orders.

5d An undated register entry on the waqf of Kızıl Delü

Waqf of the descendants of Kızıl Delü: When the lands of Rümeli were honoured with the honour of Islam, Kızıl Delü also crossed over, and Sultan Yıldırım Hân⁴² granted him as *mülk* the villages of Taru Bükü, Büyük Vîrânı and Turfillü Vîrânı, with their bounds and limits, bestowing on him a *mülknâme*⁴³ dated 804 (1401/2), which said: ‘I have given Taru Bükü, Büyük Vîrânı and Turfillü Vîrânı on Tañrı-dağı, with their bounds and limits, and no one is to interfere’. Kızıl Delü made them a *vakf-ı evlād*, and each one of the Ottoman sultans in succession has recognised the validity of that [original] command . . . and earlier *emîns*,⁴⁴ too, in obedience to these commands, have noted it in the register of the region . . .

5e Note appended to an undated register entry on the waqf of Kızıl Delü

[Note appended to (d), dated Ramađān 1305 (May–June 1888)]: When, according to the command of the late Sultan Maĥmūd [II], all properties and lands attached to Bektaşi convents were seized,⁴⁵ the tithes of the villages and *mezra* ‘as allocated (*meşrūt*) to the benefit of the descendants of Seyyid ‘Alī, also called Kızıl Sultan, buried in the *każā* of Dimetoka,⁴⁶ were also seized’.

6 The *Waqf* of Orĥān*Ťuġra* of Orĥān

My command is this that: I have made the *çiftlik* of Akpınar at Taşköprü into a *waqf* and have given it to the bearer of this document, Ĥamza Faĥīh. He is to possess it and pray for the continuation of my rule (*devlet*). Whoever sees this document is to recognise it as valid. Written in Şafar of the year 754 (March 1353).

Mezra ‘a⁴⁷ of Akpınar. *Waqf*. Possessed by Ĥamza Faĥīh,⁴⁸ who held the *nişāns*⁴⁹ from Orĥān Beg and Murād Beg and our present [sultan] and the *kađī* ‘askers. Now, Ĥamza Beg having died, our *pādişāh* . . . has given and consigned this *waqf-mezra* ‘a to Mevlānā Ĥayrū ‘d-Dīn, the son of the son of Ĥamza Faĥīh; he is to possess it, as did his grandfather.⁵⁰

⁴² Bāyezīd I (r. 1389–1402), known as Yıldırım (‘the Thunderbolt’).

⁴³ *Mülknâme*: a document confirming ownership of private property.

⁴⁴ *Emîn*: a salaried official of the sultan; here an official charged with compiling a land-and-tax register.

⁴⁵ After the massacre of the Janissaries in 1826, Maĥmūd II (r. 1808–39) ordered the suppression of the Bektaşi order of dervishes, with which the Janissaries were closely associated, and the seizure of their properties.

⁴⁶ Didymoteicho in western Thrace, Greece.

⁴⁷ *Mezra* ‘a: a piece of cultivated land without habitations.

⁴⁸ The title *faĥīh* (Arabic: ‘jurist’) indicates that Ĥamza was a man of learning.

⁴⁹ *Nişān* (‘sign’): letters patent. *Nişān* refers to the sultan’s *tuġra* at the top of the document, guaranteeing its authenticity.

⁵⁰ This document appears to be an early form of a *waqfiya*. Taşköprü is in Kocaeli, the district immediately to the east of Istanbul.

7 *Waqfs in decline*

7a *The Waqf of Dervîş Bâyezîd in Seydî Kavağı*

His slave named Ʀoğan was the *mütevelli*; when he died, it was given to his son Maḥmūd. Allowance of the *mütevelli*: one-tenth of the income after repairs; the remainder expended on travellers.

Caravanserai in Gallipoli	375 [<i>akçe</i>] per year
Bath-house in Bolayır	845 per year
Bath-house in Ʀavağ	645 per year
Mill	155 per year
Orchard in Ʀavağ	(abandoned)
Milch-cows	14 (lost)
There is a farm	(now lost)
Part of a salt pan	1415
Caravanserai in Bolayır	(ruined)
Caravanserai in Ʀavağ	(sold and lost)
<u>Total</u>	<u>2525 (<i>sic</i>)</u>

A slave named Şırmerd is a servant in the *zāviye*.⁵¹

7b *The Waqf of Sağrı Hatun*⁵²

She built a *zāviye* in the village of Kızılca and made a vineyard of hers *waqf* for it seventy or eighty years ago. It used to serve travellers. Later, the *zāviye* fell into ruin, and the *waqf* was too small to pay for its repair. Since Memdūḥ undertook to repair it and to serve travellers, the post of *şeyḥ* was granted to him by the late Sultan Selīm [I] and he was given a *berāt*. Now renewed by our *pādişāh*.⁵³ Date of *berāt* 926 (1520).⁵⁴

7c *Waqf of the zāviye of Kādî Şalāḥu 'd-Dīn*

Now held by Seyyid Meḥmed at the command of the *pādişāh*; he possesses it according to the *waqfiya*.

Vineyard:	7 <i>dönüm</i> ⁵⁵ (abandoned)
Shops:	2 [producing] 15 per month. 1,700 <i>akçe</i> (<i>sic</i>) in cash.

With this cash they bought a slave to look after the vineyard, but he died, and the money was lost.

Revenue: 185 (*sic*)⁵⁶

⁵¹ The document dates from the reign of Meḥmed II (r. 1451–81).

⁵² Hatun: 'lady'.

⁵³ Süleymān I (r. 1520–66).

⁵⁴ This *waqf* was in Saruḥān, near Manisa.

⁵⁵ A square measure of 40 paces by 40 paces.

⁵⁶ The *waqf* was sited near Malkara. The *waqfiya* dates from the reign of Meḥmed II.

8 The *waqfiya* of Selçük bint ‘Abdu’llāh, freedwoman of Meḥmed⁵⁷

Waqf of Selçük bint ‘Abdu’llāh, freedwoman of Meḥmed . . .

Copy of the *waqfiya* signed by Mevlānā⁵⁸ Meḥmed b. Ḥasan taken from the *sicill*⁵⁹ recorded on Shawwāl 931 (22 July–20 August 1525). Gist as follows:

Capital endowment: 3 ground-floor rooms, a basement (?) room, anteroom, veranda, a bakehouse, a well, a latrine, a garden and a surrounding wall in the Dāye Ḥatun quarter, near Taraḳlu Gate, bounded by the new bath-house, the private property of Iskender, the private property of Fāṭima and the public road.

Stipulations: the big house on the Fāṭima side to her son Yaḥyā; the room on the Iskender side to Yaḥyā’s son Meḥmed; the big room on the bath-house side to Yaḥyā’s daughter Ümmī; the room inside the gate on the bath-house side to Yaḥyā’s daughter Fāṭima. The bakehouse, the well and the latrine to be shared. Thereafter to their descendants: if one line dies out, its share to be enjoyed by the others; after final extinction to the *imām*, who is to recite one *cüz*⁶⁰ daily. Repairs to be carried out by the occupants. Now held by their descendants.

SECTION 2 PROBLEMS

A serious legal obstacle to the creation of *waqfs* was the stipulation that the endowment should consist of immoveable property. In cases such as books donated to *medrese* libraries (SECTION 1, passage 2 above) this rule could perhaps be overlooked. In the Ottoman realms, however, innumerable *waqfs* were based on cash lent out at interest (1; 2a–d). Not only is cash moveable property but, in Islamic law, interest-taking is forbidden. There were various legal devices (*hīle*) for circumventing the prohibition on interest (3a), some of which clearly troubled the pious (3b, 3c), and the question of the legality of cash *waqfs* became the source of a major controversy in the mid-sixteenth century.

Cash *waqfs* were, however, essential to the economic and spiritual well-being of the people. They were, in the first place, the only source of credit available to the general population, and the income they generated supported local mosques (2a, 2b, 2d), *zāviyes* (2d) and other causes (2c). In converting a house to *waqf*, for example, a person might also donate a sum of money to be lent at interest to pay for its upkeep (1). It was clearly in recognition of their importance to the well-being of society that the *muftīs* Kemālpaşazāde and Ebū’s-su’ūd in the sixteenth century defended cash-*waqfs* so vigorously against attempts to abolish them (3).

One significant problem for Ottoman governments was that *waqfs* diverted revenues, especially rents and revenues from land that might otherwise have been available to the treasury. It was to prevent the illegal proliferation of *waqfs* that, whenever a new land-and-tax survey was made, the surveyor would inspect the foundation documents of every *waqf* in the district in order to establish its legality and enter the details in the register (SECTION 1, passages 4b, 4c, 5 above). As a large city, Istanbul in the sixteenth

⁵⁷ This is not the original *waqfiya*, but a summary in the Istanbul *waqf*-register of 1546.

⁵⁸ *Mevlānā*: literally, ‘our lord’, a title given to *kādīs*.

⁵⁹ *Sicill*: a *kādī*’s register, or a single entry in such a register.

⁶⁰ *Cüz*: one-thirtieth part of the Qur’ān.

2c Waqf of Hāccī Mehmed in the village of Şeynelü⁶⁴

He set aside 5,000 *aḳçe* of his own money to gain interest at 12 for 10⁶⁵ for the ‘*avārız*’ of that village, with himself as *mütevellī* until his death, and thereafter whomever the people of the village should choose: 1,000 per year.

Since in some years there are no ‘*avārız*’, an extra 5,000 has accumulated, bringing in: 1,000 per year.

2d The Waqf of Hāccī Hasan b. Ūrūc the Felter

The aforementioned founder (*vāḳıf*) has a *waqfiya* with the signature of the current inspector of *waqfs*, Mevlānā ‘Abdü’r-raḥmān, transacted in the middle decade of Dhū’l-ḥijja 952 (12–21 February 1546). Gist as follows:

Capital endowment	Per annum
Qur’āns: 3	
Candlesticks: 2	
Cash: 14,000	1,400 [<i>aḳçe</i>]

From the interest of this sum, three of the dervishes of Maḥmūd Çelebi outside the Edirne Gate are to be given one *aḳçe* a day and to recite one *cüz*’ a day from the Qur’āns which the endower deposited in the mosque of the *zāviye*; and 50 *aḳçe* a year should be spent on candles for the candlesticks which he deposited there; and 30 *aḳçe* per year should be given to the *ḳayyūm*⁶⁶ for lighting them. [A sum of] 70 *aḳçe* should be spent once a year on food when they recite the whole Qur’ān. Once a year, one ewer should be bought for the said *zāviye* for 20 *aḳçe*. [A sum of] 100 *aḳçe* should be spent on administration. Administration belongs to the *mütevellī* of the said *zāviye*. The dismissal and appointment of the Qur’ān reciters (*cüz’ḥ’ān*) is in the hands of the *mütevellī*. The *mütevellī* should retain 50 *aḳçe* per year for maintenance (*raḳaba*) and, whenever necessary, spend it on the needs of the *waqf*. If it is not necessary, when the sum reaches 300 [*aḳçe*], the *mütevellī* should spend it on whatever charitable causes (*ḥayrāt*) he wishes. Currently it is retained for the said *waqf*.

3 Cash waqfs: Questions of legality

3a A question on donating profit from interest

Question: If Zeyd asks ‘Amr⁶⁷ for 1,000 *aḳçe* and receives 1,000 *aḳçe* at 11 for 10,⁶⁸ and ‘Amr takes off his *kaftan*, saying: ‘I sell this to Zeyd for 100 *aḳçe*, and Zeyd takes it and donates it to Bekr, who then donates it to ‘Amr, is such a transaction (*mu’āmele*) legal (*şer’iye*)?

Answer: It is. (Ebū’s-Su’ūd.)

⁶⁴ In the *sancaḳ* of Menteşe, southwest Anatolia.

⁶⁵ That is, 20 percent.

⁶⁶ *Ḳayyūm*: a caretaker of a mosque.

⁶⁷ Ottoman *fatwās* such as these do not name the protagonists in a case, but instead use the fictitious names Zeyd, ‘Amr and Bekr for men, and Hind, Zeyneb and Ḥadīce for women. See Chapter VI.

⁶⁸ That is, 10 percent, the rate of interest which, in Ottoman practice, was accepted as legal.

3b A question on interest

Question: If someone says: ‘Interest (*ribh*) arising in this fashion is *ḥarām*’, is any action against him necessary?

Answer: If it is a valid transaction, it should not be called *ḥarām*. (Ebū’s-Su‘ūd.)

3c A question on using legal devices

Question: If Zeyd says in regard to various legal devices (*hīle*): ‘To use a legal device is to deceive Allāh’, what is necessary?

Answer: An eloquent chastisement and a renewal of Faith. (Ahmed.)⁶⁹

3d A question on making restitution for not lending out waqf moneys

Question: If Zeyd, the *mütevelli* of a cash *waqf* whose product is stipulated to be spent on the ‘*avāriż*’⁷⁰ of a [city] quarter, does not put this cash out at interest, but pays so much from the capital to those ordered to exact the ‘*avāriż*’, must Zeyd make restitution of this sum?

Answer: Yes. (Ebū’s-Su‘ūd.)

SOURCES

Section 1

- 1 M. E. Düzdağ, *Şeyhülislam Ebussuud Efendi Fetvaları*, no. 299.
- 2 Ömer Lütfi Barkan and İbrahim Hakkı Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri: 953 (1546) Tarihi*, İstanbul (1970), no. 269.
- 3 Ömer Lütfi Barkan, ‘Kolonizatör Türk Dervişleri’, *Vakıflar Dergisi* II (1942), 321, no. 64.
- 4a Paul Wittek, ‘Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden (I)’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 53 (1957), 309; Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Recherches sur les Actes des Règnes des Sultans Osman, Orkhan et Murad I*, Munich (1967), no. 36.
- 4b Barkan, ‘Kolonizatör’, no. 82.
- 4c Barkan, ‘Kolonizatör’, no. 158.
- 5a Wittek, ‘Zu einigen frühosmanischen Urkunden (II)’, *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, 54, (1957), 240–1; M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *XV.–XVI. Asırlarda Edirne ve Paşa Livası Vakıflar Mülkler Mukataaalar*, İstanbul (1952), 183.
- 5b Register entry, undated. Reign of Süleymān I (r. 1520–66).
- 5c Renewal of *berāt*, 1051 (1641/2).
- 5d Undated register entry.
- 5e Barkan, ‘Kolonizatör’, nos 172–3; Gökbilgin, *Edirne*, 183–7.
- 6 Wittek, ‘Zu einigen (I)’, 302, 305; Beldiceanu, *Recherches*, no. 11.
- 7a Barkan, ‘Kolonizatör’, no. 190.
- 7b Barkan, ‘Kolonizatör’, no. 85.
- 7c Barkan, ‘Kolonizatör’, no. 191.
- 8 Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, no. 210.

⁶⁹ Ahmed is the *şeyhü’l-islām* Kemālpaşazāde (in office 1525–34).

⁷⁰ *Avāriż*: an extra-ordinary tax, levied usually in times of war.

Section 2

- 1 Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, no. 1450.
- 2a Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, no. 848.
- 2b Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, no. 214.
- 2c Barkan, 'Kolonizatör', 321, no. 68.
- 2d Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, no. 2433.
- 3 Barkan and Ayverdi, *İstanbul Vakıfları Tahrir Defteri*, xxxv, no. 49.

Treaties and Foreign Relations

The earliest reference to an agreement concluded between an Ottoman ruler and a foreign power is to a treaty made in 1351/2 between Orḫān (r. 1324?–62) and the Genoese. The text of the treaty itself does not survive, but its terms were evidently re-enacted in several later pacts which Orḫān and his son Murād I (r. 1362–89) concluded with the Genoese. Of these, the treaty of 1387 reproduced in passage **1**, is the earliest to survive. The Ottoman–Genoese alliance was to last, to the mutual benefit of both parties, until the accession of Meḫmed II in 1451. The text of the treaty presents the negotiating parties as enjoying equal status, which is not the case in the Byzantine–Turkish treaty of 1403, as seen in passage **2**. This agreement was a consequence of the defeat and captivity of the Ottoman sultan Bāyezīd I (r. 1389–1402) at the Battle of Ankara in 1402, and it was negotiated when his conqueror Timur was still in Anatolia. After the battle, Bāyezīd’s eldest son Süleymān returned as ruler to his father’s territories in Europe and, in order to survive, needed to make peace with the local powers. To this end, he opened discussions with the acting Byzantine Emperor John VII, who negotiated the treaty on his own behalf and on behalf of a league of Latin powers in the Aegean. The weakness of Süleymān’s position is evident in the territorial and other concessions made to the emperor and the league and in his acceptance of Byzantine protocol in his reference to the emperor as ‘my father’ in passage **2**.

In the mid-fifteenth century, Murād II (r. 1421–51) also faced a perilous situation. In 1443, after overcoming an attack from Karaman in the east, he narrowly defeated a Hungarian invasion from the west. In order to establish peace on both frontiers and to prepare for his planned abdication and the accession of his son Meḫmed (later to become Mehmed II), he imposed a settlement on the defeated Emir of Karaman, effectively reducing him to vassalage, as shown in passage **3a**, and negotiated a peace with the King of Hungary at Edirne, as demonstrated in passage **3b**. The treaty of Edirne and particularly the generous terms offered to the Despot of Serbia, George Branković, an ally of the king during the campaign of 1443, reflect the delicacy of Murād’s situation in 1444. In August 1444, the king solemnly swore to accept the treaty, but subsequently broke his oath. In the autumn, he led an army against the sultan, only to meet defeat and death at Varna on 10 November.

Passages **1** and **2** show the Ottoman sultan negotiating as an equal partner or as supplicant. From the accession of Meḫmed II in 1451 onwards, the format of treaty-texts

altered to reflect growing Ottoman power; as passages **4**, **6** and **7** exemplify, they now typically presented the terms agreed in the form of a decree bestowing the sultan's favour and protection, rather than as the outcome of negotiation. During the expansionary period of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Ottomans had often, as guarantee of their protection and non-aggression, imposed terms of vassalage on neighbouring rulers: according to passages **2**, **3b**, **5** and **6**, the Ottomans required the latter to pay an annual tribute; according to passage **3a**, the neighbouring rulers had to provide troops; and according to passages **3a** and **3b**, they were forced to send a son or other hostage to the sultan's court.

By the mid-sixteenth century, and especially when confronted with the power of the Habsburg monarchy in central Europe and the Mediterranean, this system had become outdated. Nonetheless, the mindset persisted. In addressing the Habsburg Charles V – Holy Roman Emperor and king of Spain – Süleymān I (r. 1520–66) denies Charles the title Emperor, addressing him only as 'King of Spain', as evident in passage **6**. Moreover, passage **5** indicates that, in demanding the tribute due for the parts of the old kingdom of Hungary in Habsburg hands, he continues to regard him as a tributary monarch. By the early seventeenth century, this view had become unsustainable. Reproduced here in passage **9**, the peace terms agreed upon in 1606 at Zsitva-Torok between the representatives of Emperor Rudolf II and Sultan Aḥmed I (r. 1603–17) brought to an end a thirteen-year war in which it had become clear that the Ottomans were no longer the superior military power. Negotiations were conducted as between equals, although subsequent wrangling over the terms, including the use of the title 'emperor' and the Ottoman claim that the emperor should resume the annual payment of tribute, rather than making a single and final payment indicate that the Ottoman side for a while continued to think unrealistically in terms of an agreement with a tributary power.

An increasingly important category of agreements with foreign powers were the capitulations, as seen in passage **7**, the term coming from the Italian *capitolo* ('heading'), referring to the headings under which the clauses were arranged. These governed the status of foreign communities settled in the Ottoman Empire for purposes of trade, their immunity from the *jizya* and other legal privileges setting them apart from local non-Muslims. The Turkish texts of the capitulations take the form of commands, presenting the sultan as graciously bestowing a favour on a petitioner.

1 The Genoese treaty with Murād I, 1387¹

[1] In the name of the Lord, amen. The magnificent and powerful lord Murād Beg, great Emīr and lord of the Emīrs of Turchia on the one side and the noble, prudent lords Gentile de Grimaldi and Janono de Boscho, ambassadors, syndics and procurators of the renowned Comune of Genoa, on the other side, the latter having been granted their mandate by a public instrument written by Petro de Bargiallo, notary and *cancellarius* of the Comune of Genoa, on the second of March, 1387, ratified by all possible means, right and form by which they best could, approved and confirmed all pacts, conventions and agreements made between the magnificent lord Murād and with the lord, lord Orḥān Beg, his father on one side and the illustrious Comune of Genoa on the other. The said parties renounced in the said names the right to plead

¹ I am grateful to Dr Kate Fleet for allowing me to use her translation of his document.

[against the fulfilment of the terms of the treaty] on the grounds of the agreement, pacts and promise not having been made, and the matter not having been conducted as above and below, and renounced the right to make a plea of trickery, or an action for recovery or any unjust reason for a lawsuit, and all other rights. The said parties promised in the said names mutually with solemn stipulations here inserted to observe without fail those pacts, conventions and promises and not to act against them, or any one of them on any pretext, or for any reason or cause which can be stated or contrived in law or in deed.

[2] The ambassadors promised in the name of and on behalf of the Comune of Genoa to do and ensure that the *comerchiarii* of Pera² and the collectors of the tax of *censaria*³ shall restore to the aforesaid lord Murād Beg all quantities of money taken and received from Giovanni Demelode, *burgensis* of Pera, for the goods and merchandise of lord Murād Beg bought and sold in Pera at the time when Giovanni was acting for lord Murād Beg, with the exception of eight *karati* per 100 *hyperpera*⁴ paid to the *censarii* or to the collectors of the said tax of the *censaria*.

[3] The ambassadors promised that the Turkish subjects of the magnificent lord Murād Beg among other things shall not pay in Pera any *commercium*⁵ to the Genoese for any goods and merchandise brought into Pera or taken out by the said Turks or any one of them.

[4] The aforesaid ambassadors promised that the Turkish subjects of the aforesaid lord Murād Beg shall not pay in Pera to the *censarii* or the collectors of the tax of *censaria* for their goods and merchandise brought or sold other than eight *karati* per each *hyperpyra*.

[5] In return the magnificent lord Murād Beg, accepting all the above, promised to the said ambassadors, who received his promise in the name of and on behalf of the aforesaid Comune of Genoa, to do and ensure that the Genoese, among other things, shall stay, remain in and traverse the whole of his territory safe and secure, and that they can trade there, buying and selling all the merchandise they wish of their own free will, without anyone being impeded, attacked or molested, paying the *commercium* of the said magnificent lord Murād Beg, as it is customarily paid according to the form of the old conventions. Moreover, the aforesaid lord Emīr promised to do and ensure that all ships of the Genoese and those being handled for and considered as Genoese, can load victuals in the whole of his territory, paying to the aforesaid magnificent lord Murād Beg or his factors for each *modio*⁶ of Romania of grain, barley, millet and other pulses, that which the Arabs, Greeks, Venetians and others who pay at a lesser rate, pay.

[6] Both parties promised each and every one of the above things in the above names mutually and to each other, and for the greater surety of the things promised, they swore by the Holy Gospels of God, touching the Scriptures, that is, the said ambassadors in the said names and the magnificent Murād Beg, according to the manner and customs of the Muslims, to abide by, fulfil and observe, and not act against them or any one of them on any pretext or for any reason or cause which can be stated or contrived in law or in deed, under penalty of a fine of double the value, as well as the loss of the total goods for which there will have been a contravention

² Pera was the Genoese town on the eastern side of the Golden Horn opposite Constantinople, corresponding roughly to modern Beyoğlu.

³ *Censaria*: a brokerage tax on goods traded in Pera.

⁴ A *hyperperon* was a Byzantine gold coin, weighing 24 *keratia*. By 1387 it was probably a unit of account, divided into 24 *keratia*, rather than a coin.

⁵ *Commercium*: customs.

⁶ *Modio*: a measurement of weight for grain.

or, as was observed above, all and each of the above firmly enduring, and under pledge and obligation in the said names of all their goods which they had and have, being however those things which are not prohibited from being pledged under the sections and the regulations of the said Comune. Enacted in the present agreement and each part of it that the ambassadors in the said names are held to ensure that the lord Podestà of Pera and his Council swear to abide by and observe all of the above.

[7] It was enacted in the present agreement between the contracting parties in the said names that, whenever any slave of the aforesaid lord or his subjects shall flee to Pera, each inhabitant of Pera and its suburbs, into whose hands such a slave shall come, is held to present such a slave to the lord Podestà of Pera who is now, or in the past shall have been, under pain of paying the slave's price to his master, as well as 100 *hyperpyra* at the weight of Pera to the Comune of Genoa in Pera or to the *massarii*, acting in the name of and on behalf of the said Comune, and that a proclamation and order about these aforesaid things must be made in the land of Pera. In return the aforesaid lord Murād Beg solemnly agreed and promised to the said ambassadors in the said names, acting and receiving the promise in the name of and on behalf of the Genoese Comune, to ensure that all slaves of the Genoese fleeing from their masters to Turchia or Greece should be restored freely to their aforesaid master without reservation, unless those fleeing should be Muslims, in which case the aforesaid lord shall not be held to anything other than the settlement of a fair and just price for such a slave, recognised as a Muslim.

[8] They ordered me, Quilico de' Tadei, the notary whose name appears below, to draw up the present public instrument concerning the aforesaid clauses, as witness of the promises made.

[9] Enacted in Turchia in a certain small settlement called Mallaina,⁷ in the courtyard of the house presently inhabited by the aforesaid lord, in the year of the lord 1387, ninth indiction according to the Genoese reckoning, the eighth day of June, a little after Vespers, in the presence of witnesses summoned and specially requested: Bartolomeo de Lamgascho, *burgensis* of Pera, translator from Greek into Latin of the present instrument, Giovanni de Draperis, Dario Spinola, Anthonio de Mentono, *burgenses* of Pera and Amgelino de Saulo, citizen of Genoa, as well as Csassanus Bassa⁸ and Tomortassius,⁹ Muslim barons of the said lord.

I, Quilico de' Thadei, notary by Imperial authority, was present at all the aforesaid things and was asked to write, but being occupied with my various affairs, permission was granted that I should have it copied by another.

2 The Byzantine–Turkish Treaty of 1403

Copy of the agreements made with the lord Süleymān Çelebi, written in the Turkish language and signed with his and his barons' signatures. Translated by Sir Pietro Zeno.¹⁰

[1] In the name of the true God. I, who am Süleymān Çelebi, son of the great Sultan Bāyezīd: after the great Emperor Caloiani,¹¹ emperor of the Greeks, my father, emperor Palaeologus,

⁷ Malagina, in the Sakarya valley, to the east of Constantinople.

⁸ Hasan Paşa.

⁹ Timurtaş

¹⁰ The original text of the treaty would almost certainly have been written in Greek. Zeno's text is therefore a translation of a translation.

¹¹ John VII Palaiologos.

[of] the empire of Constantinople were satisfied with the command of our Lord God, together with the great comunes of Rhodes with its hospital, Venice, Genoa together with the island of Chios, and the Duke of Naxos, with all the settlements and islands belonging to their lands and possessions in the Aegean and Black Seas, and among the emperor's city and places belonging to it and to the league,¹² which is in his following: we have sworn and we have made a true peace, with good will. Now, with the will of the Lord God, I swear by He who created heaven and earth, by my Muḥammad Muṣṭafā and by my seven Mustafī (*sic*) and by my most high and great Prophet in whom we believe. By the soul of my grandfather and by the head of my father, the sultan, and by my soul, I have made peace with all of these. Together with all my barons, subjects and men, and also with all the land which God shall give me, if other lords become my subjects, I have made this peace with my father the emperor and with the empire of the Greeks and the company of the comunes, the emperor's castles and towns and their neighbours, and with the lands, islands and villages in the Aegean and Mediterranean and on land. We have made peace for so long as we shall live; may the sons of our sons be with them in good peace.

[2] To my father, the emperor of the Greeks, I have freely given Salonica and Calamarea with all their dependencies, as we have agreed, and Galicho¹³ up to the Paravardaro¹⁴ [river] and up to the shore. I have given Salonica and its tower, and that which he gave to my father: I give it to him. I have given him [the shore] from Panidos¹⁵ to Mesembria¹⁶ and Palateoria, together with their castles, salt pans and all dependencies. I have given them without any [demand for] tribute to my father, the emperor and to the empire of the Greeks. I concede it to him to drive out those Turks who are in possession; and anyone, whether Greek or Turk, who has bought anything with their own money, it should be theirs. I have given Constantinople, with all its free confines, from Parapolia up to Panidos, without any [demand for] tribute. In these places I have conceded to the emperor that he may build castles as he wishes, wherever he wishes.

[3] I have returned those castles which the emperor held in Turkey.

[4] If there is any news of Tamerlane,¹⁷ I shall, at my own expense, provide as many galleys and sailors as I have, to come to Constantinople, if needed.

[5] I have given him [the islands of] Skopelos, Skiathos and Skyros, opposite Salonica, and I have given him the tribute for the said places from the tenth of November until now.

[6] All citizens of Constantinople who are living [in my territory] may return home unimpeded.

[7] All lawsuits and litigation surviving from the time of my grandfather and father until now should be dissolved and not be pursued, except that, if an individual debtor has to pay [what he owes] to another person, [the debt] should be honoured.

[8] [Stephen] Lazarević¹⁸ should retain his lands which he held in the time of my father. He should pay the tribute which he previously paid to my father and send his men to the army as he used to. If he wishes to come in person, he may come securely; when he does not wish, he

¹² John VII was a signatory to the treaty on his own behalf and on behalf of a league of the Latin powers in the Aegean enumerated in clause [1] and the Despot of Serbia, Stephen Lazarević (clause [8]).

¹³ Galicho: the Gallikos river.

¹⁴ Paravardaro: The Vardar river. The area described here comprises Chalkidike and the Thermaic Gulf,

¹⁵ A town on the Sea of Marmara to the west of Constantinople.

¹⁶ Mesembria: Nesebŭr.

¹⁷ Timur. The form 'Tamerlane' and its variants derive from Timur-i Leng ('Timur the Lame').

¹⁸ Despot of Serbia. Stephen Lazarević (d. 1427) accepted Ottoman over-lordship after the death of his father Lazar at the Battle of Kosovo in 1389.

should send his men. When he comes with his army, neither he nor any member of his army shall be harmed. I shall send him and his men [home] without suffering any harm from me.

[9] All Frankish, Venetian, Genoese, Rhodian and Greek merchants may come to my lands, and if God gives me other lands, by sea or by land, no one shall suffer harm. They shall pay whatever it used to be customary to pay, with no further impost.

[10] If any merchant commits a crime, no other merchant should suffer a penalty, only the one who committed the crime.

[11] If any ship is wrecked in my lands and territories, any goods or persons who survive should be saved and restored.

[12] All ports which I have shall be open, and however much grain [merchants] may want, they may take. My merchants shall not trouble them. They may buy wherever they wish. For customs, they shall pay 1 *hyperperon* for each *modius* of Constantinople.

[13] None of my oared ships may leave the Dardanelles, whether above or below, without permission of the emperor and all of the League. If, by any chance, one should do so and is found and damaged, the damage shall not be compensated, and the peace [in] Romania¹⁹ [shall remain] intact.

[14] I will release all the captives from Constantinople who are in my prisons, or in the hands of my barons, or those with me who are in chains or have chains around their necks.

[15] The Genoese prisoners who are found with me, in my prisons or with my barons shall be freed. Wherever a Genoese prisoner is found, I shall release him.

[16] If any slave should escape from the Genoese and turn out to be Muslim, I will return him; with this condition all of my [slaves who came into] their hands after the victory of Tamerlane shall be released.

[17] Twenty-five prisoners shall be returned from the prison on Chios.

[18] The Genoese shall not be required to pay tribute for the castles which they hold on the Black Sea [coast].

[19] The Chiots no longer have to pay anything of the 500 ducats which they paid to the lord²⁰ of Alto Luogo.²¹

[20] I will return any lands, castles and settlements, or anything else taken from Venetian territories, and also give them Athens.

[21] I will give them five miles inland on the mainland opposite Negroponte, but if there are any salt pans or ports there, they are to be mine. If grain is removed from my lands without customs-duty being paid, those who removed it are to be punished.

[22] The Marquis of Bodonitsa²² shall not be held liable for anything beyond that for which he was held liable by my father.

[23] If any slave or servant [of mine] escapes to their territory, they shall return them to me. Similarly, if any slave or servant of theirs should escape to my territory, there is an obligation to return them.

[24] Naxos, Alto Luogo and Palatia²³ shall no longer pay what they used to, that is, 200 ducats.

¹⁹ Romania: the Latin term for the Byzantine and former Byzantine territories in Greece and the Balkan peninsula; Ottoman Rümeli.

²⁰ The Emir of Aydın.

²¹ Alto Luogo: Theologos, Selçuk.

²² The Latin lord of Bodonitsa, a fortress near Thermopylae.

²³ Palatia: Balat.

[25] I shall return 500 Venetian prisoners, so long as, by this treaty, they return all the Turks whom they hold.

[26] I have relinquished 500 ducats of the tribute of Phocaea.²⁴

[27] If any dispute should arise between us, whether over blood, words or anything else, all such disagreements should be settled amicably through mediators.

[28] I have freely given Salona²⁵ and its territories which the Countess seized to the Hospital of Rhodes.

3 The peace settlement of 1444

3a *The sworn statement of Ibrāhīm Beg of Karamān, 1444*

I bear witness by God and ‘God is sufficient witness’.²⁶ ‘And fulfil your covenant and do not break oaths when you have confirmed them. You have made God your surety’.²⁷

I who am Ibrāhīm Beg son of the late Meḥmed of Karamān, place my hand on the Word of God (*Teñri*) and in honesty and sincerity, without evasion or exception, I swear:

By God, through God and for the sake of God, who seeks and overwhelms, who perceives and destroys, the ever self-existent, who never sleeps and never dies in all eternity, who took no consort and has no son; and out of veneration for the word of God which descended through Gabriel to Muḥammad Muṣṭafā (may God bless him and give him peace). I will not in any way, outwardly or inwardly, show enmity to the noble persons, lives or honour of Murād Beg son of the late Meḥmed Ḥān, nor to his son Meḥmed, nor to their friends, lands and territories; nor to the towns, castles, villages and borders of their lands; nor to their settled peasants and nomads; nor to their governors, cavalymen and servants; nor to their followers, possessions and all dependents. Nor will I incite anyone to show enmity or become the helper or accomplice of anybody who wishes to do so. If anyone wishes to show enmity, I will hinder and prevent them as far as lies within my power.

I will not fall short. I have become the friend to their friends and the enemy to their enemies. I will be nowhere that might harm their high estate. I will send neither agent, nor word, nor letter, in secret or in public, to the enemies of Murād Beg, whether Muslim or infidel, who do not wish for his prosperity and high estate. I will inform Murād Beg and his son Meḥmed Beg, word for word, of the letters and information that come to me from their enemies and from those who wish them evil.

If any subject of theirs betrays them and gives any of their castles or towns to me, I will not accept. And if any slave belonging to the said Murād Beg or to his son Meḥmed Beg, or any slave belonging to any of their followers, or any male or female slave, or animal belonging to anyone in the territories dependent on them should flee or be stolen and enter my territory, I will find and return [the fugitive].

I will not make excuses but, in short, I will be friend to their friend and enemy to their enemies. Every year I will send one of my sons with my troops to serve Murād Beg.

By God, in respect of these matters, I will not break my oath and, if I break it, I will neither expiate it nor have it expiated. By God, whenever I break the oath, may the oath be upon me.

²⁴ Phocaea: Foça.

²⁵ Salona: Amfissa.

²⁶ Qur’ān 4:79.

²⁷ Qur’ān 16:91.

By God I have sworn truthfully, without evasion or exception. I will not act contrary to nor transgress this oath. If I do, by God, may this Word of God seek restitution from me and my descendants.

God is the agent for what we say. He is sufficient for men and excellent is the agent.

3b The Treaty of Edirne, 1444

To the great and excellent lord, the great Emperor Ladislaus,²⁸ Emperor of Hungary and King of Poland etc., and also our most esteemed brother and friend: Amurath Beg,²⁹ great lord, great *emīr* [and] sultan: greetings and a fortunate increase in brotherhood and friendship.

Your Excellency will be aware that the noble and distinguished man, your faithful envoy Stojka [Gisdanić] has brought a letter from Your Excellency which is highly esteemed and pleasing to me. Through this letter Your Excellency has made it known that whatever your faithful envoy Stojka negotiates on your behalf, we should believe it exactly as if it were from your own person.

[1] We make known to Your Majesty what your esteemed Stojka said to us first concerning the despot George [Branković],³⁰ namely that I should give up his sons³¹ and his places and that George himself should be bound in all our services, just as he was in the past. I have agreed to this for the sake of brotherhood with Your Excellency.

[2] He also told us that it would be agreeable for me to keep the peace with Blado,³² the voivode of the Vlachs, on the following conditions: that the said Blado should pay me tribute as was previously the custom, and that he should again be bound to us in all our services, just as he was before, except that he should not come in person to our court. We agree to this out of love for Your Excellency: namely that the voivode Vlado should pay tribute; that he should once again do everything that he was obliged to do in our service; and that he should not come to our court personally but instead send us a hostage; and also that, if our subjects flee to his territories, he should send them back; and also that we should do the same if his subjects flee here from those places.

[3] This should be understood as follows: namely, that Your Excellency should at the same time enjoy peace, fraternity and good friendship with us. For this reason, we swore in the presence of Your Excellency's envoy, namely Stojka, that we should maintain a good and firm peace, without artifice or deceit for ten years. To this end we are sending our faithful, noble and distinguished [Baltaoğlu] Süleymān Beg, namely that it should please Your Excellency to swear properly and faithfully, without artifice of any kind, that you will maintain a good and firm peace with us for ten years.

²⁸ Władysław III of Poland (r. 1424–44) and I of Hungary (r. 1440–44).

²⁹ Murād II.

³⁰ George Branković was Despot of Serbia.

³¹ In 1441 Murād II had blinded and imprisoned George Branković's sons, Gregory and Stephen.

³² Vlad Dracul, voivode of Wallachia (r. 1436–42, 1443–7).

4 A grant of peace and of free passage for merchants

The order of the felicitous *niṣān*³³ is this that:

At present I have made peace with the distinguished *emīr* the voivode Petor, *beg* of the land of Bogdan³⁴ and removed hostility from between [us], and I have commanded that the merchants in Akkerman³⁵ in his territories may come with their ships and deal and traffic and trade with the people in Edirne, Bursa and Istanbul. In their coming and going, no one of my *begs* or *subaṣıs* or *sipāhıs* or *kuls*³⁶ is to cause injury or loss to their lives or their goods. If they disobey my command and harm [them] in any way, I will send a *kul* and visit them a heavy calamity . . . 5 Rajab 860 (9 June 1456).

In the camp at the town of Rudnik.³⁷

5 An offer to pay tribute

The *sancaḳbegi* of Bosnia to the Porte:

Since it is throughout the world as clear as the sun that the felicitous *pādiṣāh* is in every matter sustained [by God] and victorious, a renowned and outstanding *ban*³⁸ of Croatia, named Ivan son of Karli, fearful of the majesty of the bloody *hāḳānic* sword, has sent me a messenger with a letter and, after humble submission, has said: ‘Let me too be a *kul* of the *pādiṣāh* and live in tranquillity in his felicitous shadow’, undertaking to pay each year 1,200 *filori*³⁹ of *ḥarāc*⁴⁰ after the fashion of Moldavia and Wallachia. He sent his messenger and the money and said, making me his intermediary and intercessor: ‘Do you exert yourself that my money and submission (*kulluk*) may be accepted at the Exalted Court of the *pādiṣāh*’. Therefore, his money and his messenger, together with the very letter that came to me, have been sent to the gate of felicity with my officer, your slave Ferhād. Now, be it not concealed from the world-adorning intelligence that, if this man’s money and submission are accepted, it is hoped that instructions will be given that no one is to attack the fortresses and territory which he has held (*taṣarruf*) from the time of his father and his grandfather, and that a felicitous *‘ahdnāme*⁴¹ in Serbian, after the style of Moldavia and Wallachia, may be graciously granted to his messenger, so that he may prosper in the days of the felicitous *pādiṣāh* and be counted among his other servants. If the *pādiṣāh*’s grace is shown to him and his *ḥarāc* and his submission are accepted, all the *bans* about his territory, on seeing this, will most certainly seek eagerly to offer service and *ḥarāc* to the *pādiṣāh*.

So be it known. The circumstances have been reported accurately to the Gate of Felicity. It is for the *pādiṣāh* to command.

³³ *Niṣān* (‘sign’): the sultan’s cypher (*tuḡra*) at the head of the decree, indicating that the order comes from the sultan.

³⁴ Moldavia.

³⁵ Akkerman: Bilhorod Dnistrovskiy

³⁶ The phrase covers provincial governors, fief-holders in the provinces and salaried servants of the sultan – that is, everyone on whom the sultan has bestowed executive powers.

³⁷ A mining district in central Serbia. Meḫmed II issued this decree during his Belgrade campaign of 1456.

³⁸ A governor in the Kingdom of Hungary.

³⁹ A gold coin, florin.

⁴⁰ *Ḥarāc*: tribute.

⁴¹ A treaty; a letter of agreement bestowing a privilege.

6 The peace terms offered by Süleymān I to Charles V, 1547

Through the exalted grace of God Most High – may He be praised – and with the blessings of the miracles of His Excellency the Bearer of Prophecy – may God bless him and bring him peace – I, who am the sultan of sultans, proof of the *ḥākāns*,⁴² shadow of God on the lands, *pādiṣāh* and sultan of the Mediterranean and Black Sea, Rūmeli, Anaṭolī, Rūm, Ḳaramān, Erzurum, Diyārbekir, Kurdistan, Lūristān, Persia, Zū'l-ḳadriyye, Egypt, Syria, Aleppo, Jerusalem and all the Arabian lands, Baghdad, Basra and the realms of Yemen and Aden, the regions of the Tatars and the Qipchaq steppes, the throne of Buda and its dependencies, and many realms conquered by my sword, Sultan Süleymān-ṣāh son of Sultan Selīm-ṣāh Ḥān: you, who are Carlos, king of the land of Spain:

[You] should know that your brother, King⁴³ Ferdinand, has sent a letter through his ambassador Yerārdo⁴⁴ to our threshold, the refuge of the world and our court, the workplace of felicity. Your own letter has also arrived. You have sought our imperial favour from the foot of our throne, the refuge of the world, concerning a peace and an accord. Your said ambassador has submitted that he is acting on behalf of both you and your brother and has in many ways asked for grace and compassion in the matter of [my] granting my imperial peace.

This being so, through the perfection of my royal clemency, my imperial peace has been granted to you and your brother for five years. [1] The land of Hungary which, by the exalted grace of God Most High – may He be praised – was conquered by my victorious sword, is our realm. For the parts of that land which are not under the rule of the Muslims, a fixed sum of 30,000 gold coins is to be paid into my imperial treasury each year for five years. [2] It has been made a condition that my protected realms, the province of Algiers in the west, and other Muslim realms in the occident⁴⁵ shall not be attacked or suffer harm from either land or sea, and peace shall be observed by both sides. [3] The *pādiṣāh* of France⁴⁶ who nurtures friendship towards my threshold of felicity and also the doge of Venice should be included in my noble treaty, and their lands should not be attacked and harmed by you or your brother, either from the land or from the sea.

It has been decreed that my imperial treaty should be observed by both sides.

My detailed imperial command has been sent to your said brother [setting out] whatever conditions have been stipulated for my imperial peace. Your ambassador also has accepted my imperial treaty in this form on behalf of both of you. A term of three months has been granted, and he has been sent back [to you] with my gracious regal permission.

My Porte, the refuge of felicity, is always open. No one is prevented from coming and going. If God the most glorious is willing, when you have learned on what conditions my imperial command has been bestowed, an ambassador should again be sent to my threshold, the refuge of the world, so that my detailed imperial treaty may be granted.

Written in the first decade of the month of Jumādā' l-ūlā in the year 954 (19–28 June 1547). In Constantinople.

⁴² *Ḥākān*: a *khan*, a title of rulership.

⁴³ Charles V's brother Ferdinand had been elected 'King of the Romans' – designated heir to the crown of the Holy Roman Empire – in 1531. The sultan recognises his title as 'king'.

⁴⁴ Gerhard Veltwyck.

⁴⁵ Charles V had conquered Tunis in 1535 and reinstated the Ḥafṣid ruler Mulāy Ḥasan. In 1541 he had led an unsuccessful expedition against Algiers.

⁴⁶ Francis I (r. 1515–47).

7 The English capitulations, 1580

This is the command of the noble, exalted, lofty, sultanic *niṣān* and the illustrious, world-conquering *hākānic tuğra*⁴⁷ (may it be effective through Divine aid and eternal protection!)

At this present time, Elizabeth, Queen of the domains of England and France and Ireland, the model of ladies honoured in the Messiah's religion (may her last moments be concluded with good) has sent letters to our court, the abode of justice and place of audience, the seat of glory, which is the refuge and shelter of the sultans of the world and the sanctuary and haven of the *hākāns* of the age, by means of her agent named William Harborne, one of her lords who are entrusted with affairs of state, her agent having come formerly to our threshold, which is the nest of felicity, displaying obedience and sincerity and communicating subservience and devotion, [and] seeking permission for her men to come and go from that part of the world to our protected dominions for trade, whereupon our imperial permission was joined in that matter and our noble commands were issued as follows: 'Let no one annoy and molest them by land and sea, in the halting places and stages and in the passages and ports', and because it has been submitted and deposed at the foot of our royal felicitous throne how she presented respectful service to our court, the abode of justice, with sincerity of heart and purity of faith, and how friendship has been established with the aforementioned queen also, just like the mutual friendship and amity concluded between us and France and Venice and Poland and the other kings who display sincere friendship towards our exalted threshold, and how her agent and other merchants have come to our well-protected dominions with their wares, in peace and security and have traded, minding their own business and occupied with their ordinary duties, and how certain of her subjects were captured in the place named [. . .], and how also she has requested favour in the matter of her subjects named [. . .], who are now actually imprisoned, being released and according to our imperial treaty-letter associated with glory, and our noble commands which are given to the aforementioned kings according to the requirements of friendship, [similar privileges] being granted on behalf of the aforementioned queen also.

Therefore, the aforementioned queen's request has fallen into the area of acceptance within the glory of our effulgent presence, and we graciously granted this our imperial treaty-letter. With justice and, our noble commands having been sent out to our servants, the *beglerbegis* and *begs* who hold office in our well-protected dominions and to the *kādīs* and in general to the intendants in the seaports, our incontrovertible *firman* has issued forth in the following manner: as long as the conditions of the treaty and league shall be respected on the part of the aforementioned queen and the rules of peace and protection are respected as is fitting, then on this side also

[1] let no one at all ever trouble and molest her subjects who come with their own property and other goods and wares: whether it be her galleons and other ships, coming by sea and her subjects who are aboard and their goods and wares and their property, or her subjects and their riding beasts and goods and property and wares, travelling overland: let them mind their own business and be occupied with their ordinary duties.

[2] If, whilst going from and coming to our well-protected dominions or else to other domains, they should by any means be taken captive while they are about their proper business, those kind of people shall be set free again.

⁴⁷ *Niṣān* and *tuğra* are synonyms, referring to the sultan's cipher at the head of the document, guaranteeing its authenticity.

[3] And their galleons and other ships shall at all times come to and go from the ports and harbours and the rest of our well-protected dominions in peace and security.

[4] Let those who happen to be present, be it the crew of imperial ships or of others, give assistance when storms at sea distress people such as these and in their other moments of need, and let no one prevent and inconvenience them in the obtaining of their supplies and provisions [in exchange for] *akçes*.

[5] And if the sea should fling their ships onto the land, let the *begs*⁴⁸ and *kādīs* and others give assistance; the goods and properties which are rescued shall be given back to them; let no harm be done.

[6] Let no one hinder the English who are travelling either by sea or land, minding their own business: they shall not trouble and molest them.

[7] And the merchants of that country and their interpreters and other people shall come to our well-protected dominions, by sea and by land, and engage in selling and buying and trade, so that, after they have paid their ordinary taxes according to the established custom and *kānūn*,⁴⁹ let no person from among the admirals and seafaring captains and others, and from among the military people hinder them in coming and going, and let them not trouble and molest them and their men and their goods and their riding beasts.

[8] If one of the English should fall into debt, let the debt be claimed and taken from the debtor; no other person, as long as he is not standing bail, shall be arrested and sued.

[9] And if one of them should die, let his goods and properties be given to whomsoever he has bequeathed them; should he die intestate, let [the effects] be given to that person's compatriot, with the cognizance of their consul: let no one interfere.

[10] And whenever merchants and interpreters and consuls of England and the lands which are dependent on it are engaged in the affairs of selling and buying and trade and guarantee and other matters administered by the Holy Law in our well-protected dominions, they shall go to the *kādī*⁵⁰ and have him register [the matter] in his *sicill*,⁵¹ or else they shall take a *hüccet*.⁵² Afterwards, should a dispute occur, let the *hüccet* and the *kādī*'s *sicill* be inspected and action taken according to it. Should neither one of these two [proofs] exist and [people] bring an allegation, contrary to the upright Holy Law, solely by making false witnesses stand, as long as they have no *hüccet* from the *kādīs* or else [the matter] shall not be found registered in the *kādī*'s *sicill*, let not such men as these be allowed to deceive, and let not their allegation which is contrary to the Holy Law be heard.

[11] And when certain people calumniate, saying 'You have insulted us', [and] make false witnesses stand, wishing to afflict and affright, contrary the upright Holy Law, solely for the sake of extortion, let them be prevented.

[12] And should one of these people fall into debt or else come under suspicion in some way and abscond, let no other person, who is not standing bail, be arrested on his behalf.

[13] And if slaves belonging to the English, whom their consul has been seeking, should be found, if it be clear that they are not English and there is no possibility of doubt, they shall be taken and let them hand them over to the English.

[14] Those people from England and the lands which are dependent on it who have settled

⁴⁸ *Beg*: here a *beglerbegi* of *sancaḳbegi*.

⁴⁹ *Kānūn*: sultanic law.

⁵⁰ *Kādī*: a judge in an Islamic court, acting also as a notary.

⁵¹ *Sicill*: a *kādī*'s register, or an entry in his register.

⁵² *Hüccet*: a document issued by a *kādī*, recording the proceedings in court and the *kādī*'s decision.

down in our well-protected dominions, whether they be married or bachelors, shall pursue their professions: let not the *ḥarāc* be demanded from them.

[15] When they change the consuls whom they had appointed to the ports of Alexandria and Tripoli-in-Syria and Algiers and Tunis and Tripoli of the West and Cairo and elsewhere, let no one hinder them when they appoint and send in their place men fitting for the responsibility of that post.

[16] If their interpreter be engaged on important business [legal proceedings] shall be delayed until he arrives; on the other hand, they, for their part shall not seek idle pretexts, but shall hold their interpreter in readiness.

[17] And if the English should have disputes one with the other, let their aforesaid ambassador and consul decide it according to their usages; let no one hinder them.

[18] Should irregular (*levend*) boats travel by sea and take Englishmen captive after the date when the treaty letter has been granted and bring and sell them in Rumelia and Anatolia, when such people as these are found let investigation be made with proper attention and care and, in whosoever's possession he shall be found, they shall discover from whom he bought him; if that captive should become Muslim, let the person who has bought him obtain the price [of the slave] from him and, being free, he shall let him go.

[19] When ships and galleys and fleets which put to sea in our well-protected dominions shall meet with the ships of England at sea, let them show friendship to one another and not commit harm or damage.

[20] Let the articles written and enregistered in our imperial treaty-letters which have been granted to the Venetians and France and the other kings who are on terms of friendship [with us] be confirmed on behalf of the English also: let no one hinder and molest them contrary to the upright Holy Law and our imperial treaty-letter.

[21] And when their galleons and other ships come to our well-protected dominions, let them be guarded and protected and depart safe and sound.

[22] And if it should happen that their goods and properties are plundered, let there be effort and diligence in the matter of discovering the crew of their ship and the goods and properties which have been pillaged: the evil-doers, whosoever they may be, shall be brought to their proper punishment.

[23] Let my slaves the *beglerbegis* and admirals and *sancaḳbegis* and my slaves the sea-faring admirals and the *ḳāḏīs* and the intendants and the imperial captains and the volunteer captains act in accordance with the tenor, made happy by justice, of our imperial treaty-letter aforementioned: let them not permit what is contrary to it.

As long as they shall be steadfast and enduring in sincerity and candour, according to the treaty which has been mentioned, from this side also the conditions of the treaty and pact shall be respected and observed as before, and never in any way shall what is contrary to it be permitted.

Written in the first decade of Rabī' u'l-ākhir 988 (16–25 May 1580).

In the residence of Constantinople, the well-protected.

[Note by copyist:] Copy transcribed from the original without addition or omission. The poor Mehmed b. Aḥmed, deputising for the chief *ḳāḏī* of Galata (may the sins of both of them be forgiven) wrote it.

8 The troubles of an ambassador

A command to the *kādī* of Galata:

You have sent a letter to my exalted court by the hand of Mevlānā ‘Oṣmān, the former *kādī* of Mecca, and made this submission (‘*arz*’): A numerous body of people of Ṭophāne⁵³ have come to the *sharī‘a* court and made this statement: ‘The ambassador of England is dwelling with his people (*tevābi*) in the house of ‘Arab Aḥmed Paşa in Ṭophāne, but he does not behave unobtrusively. He is always engaging in lewdness and debauchery, and numerous other ungodly people come in from outside and bring in prostitutes and never cease from depravity and wickedness. Because this house is on the seashore, they hide fugitive slaves and smuggle them out. At prayer times, they beat drums and blow trumpets. They throw filth over the graves of the Muslims and commit numerous such acts of depravity’. Therefore, the Muslims delivered a letter (*kāğıd*) [? to the law-court] saying: ‘Either you get rid of the ambassador or we will burn the quarter down’. Their depravity and insolence are beyond all measure. It is better for the Muslims in every way that these people should live in the house they have always lived in in Galata.’

By my *ḥaṭṭ-i hümāyūn*⁵⁴ ‘He is to reside in the houses where he formerly resided’, my exalted command has been issued: I have commanded that, when [. . .] arrives, you are to charge and direct this ambassador that he is, in accordance with the tenor of this glorious order of mine, to leave that house and to go and reside in the houses where he formerly resided in Galata, so that the Muslims are rid of this kind of insolence.

On this matter you are not to allow the ambassador to present any protest or excuse, but you are to expel him from this house straightaway.

9 Latin text of the agreement at Zsitva-Torok, 1606

[1] When ambassadors appear before each other’s emperors, the one should deport himself as father and the other as son; let it be thus for this embassy.

[2] In all writings, letters and audiences, courtesy should be observed; the one should call the other Caesar and not king.

[3] The Tatars and other nations should be included in the peace; and during the peace they should not cause any harm to the kingdom and provinces of the Christians.

[4] There should be peace between the two emperors in all places and provinces, particularly in Hungary, belonging to them from of old, both on sea and land; all dominions belonging to the noble House of Austria, or dependent upon it, are included; and if the Spanish king should wish to be included in the peace, we shall not be opposed.

[5] All raiding should be completely stopped; if, by chance, any robbers should come raiding and cause damage to any place, it should be permitted to imprison this kind of plunderer and to inform the other party of their captivity. Afterwards they should be tried before that captain in whose captaincy such acts of violence occurred, and the stolen goods should be restored.

[6] It shall not be lawful to enter and occupy fortresses, secretly or openly, or by any means; nor to attempt to occupy them under any pretext; or to give refuge or help to evil men and

⁵³ Ṭophāne (‘gun-foundry’), a suburb on the Bosphorus, outside the city wall of Galata where most embassies were situated. It was the site of the main Ottoman gun-foundry.

⁵⁴ *Ḥaṭṭ-i hümāyūn*: A written command in the sultan’s own hand.

enemies of either Caesar. What has been granted to the most illustrious lord Bocskai⁵⁵ shall remain [in place] according to the agreement concluded in Vienna.⁵⁶

[7] Captives should be returned from either side, with equal numbers being exchanged. (Thus, on both sides they should be released as consequence of the negotiations of their lord. Anyone who agreed on redemption with his own [fellows] should be freed; anyone captured during the truce should be released.)

[8] Every effort should be made by the captain-general of Győr, the Pasha of Buda and others dependent on him, the *ban* in Slavonia and the other supreme captains on either side of the Danube to avoid any disputes or problems. If any matter of great importance arises which cannot be settled by them, for such matters, recourse should be had to either emperor.

[9] It is permissible to rebuild and fortify fortresses in their old places, but it is not permitted to build new fortresses or castles.

[10] An ambassador shall be sent with gifts by us to the emperor of the Turks. The magnificent commander Murād Pasha shall also send with gifts his ambassador to our Most Serene Archduke Mathias, our most benign lord. When our legates arrive in Constantinople to ratify the peace, the emperor of the Turks shall also send an ambassador to our emperor in Prague, with more gifts than was previously the custom.

[11] The ambassador of His Imperial Majesty shall bring to Constantinople a gift in the value of 200,000 florins, as promised, once and for all time.

[12] The peace shall last for twenty years from 1 January next year [1607]. After three years each emperor should in turn send an ambassador with gifts, with no obligation as to the number of gifts, but as he wishes, so far as is fitting between persons [of] equal [status]. All legitimate heirs of His Imperial Majesty and successor kings of Hungary are understood under these twenty years; similarly, brothers, nephews and their legitimate heirs are included and should remain [thus].

[13] Vác may be built and extended, remaining in our hands.

[14] When the embassy of His Holy Imperial Majesty arrives at the Porte, they should be free to demand whatever they wish from the Turkish Emperor.

[15] Concerning the estates which have been unconditionally surrendered [to the Turks]⁵⁷ (*deditiliis*), it has been agreed that those which have been liberated from subjection to the Turkish yoke, together with the fortresses of Füleke, Somoskő, Hainaczko, Divény, Kékkő, Zechen, Gyarmach, Palanka, Nógrád and Vác, shall not in future be subject or tributary to them. In the future, those fortresses will be in our hands, and no Turk or *sipāhī* (*ispaja* ?), wherever they might live, shall have any jurisdiction over them, or compel them to surrender. [This is] with the exception of those districts which have continuously and always been tributary to the captain of Eger, which must remain in subjection. Apart from these [districts] of Eger, the Turks should not subjugate any estate to themselves.

[16] As to the region of Esztergom, when the Christians recaptured [Esztergom] from the Turks, just as at that time the Turks subjected and held the estates themselves, these should

⁵⁵ Stephen Bocskai, Prince of Transylvania. In 1605, he transferred his allegiance from the Habsburg Emperor Rudolph to the Ottomans.

⁵⁶ By the Treaty of Vienna (23 June 1606), the Emperor Rudolph recognized Stephen Bocskai's hereditary rights as ruler of Transylvania.

⁵⁷ Latin: *deditiliis*. This probably has its classical Roman sense of people collectively subjugated through unconditional surrender, and therefore of legally inferior status.

now and henceforth be subject to [Esztergom], but others apart from these are not compelled to surrender to the Turks.

[17] Concerning the estates around Kanisza, it has been agreed that the Pasha of Buda and, in like manner, Francis Batthyány should send their distinguished men to record and survey the estates and set them right. Among the subject estates, if some nobles live there or have residences there, they should pay neither tribute nor tithes to the Turks; nor should they be tributaries in any way, but be free both in their goods and in their persons. Anyone who pays nothing to the legitimate king, should pay nothing to the Turks. The Turks should not go out to the estates, but demand through the judges of the estates that their people come [to them]. If the judges are truly unable to do this, they should write to their captains and territorial lords, so that these can compel them. If nothing can be achieved in this way, the Turks may go out to compel them. The procedure should be acted upon and understood by the Hungarians.

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Glossary

- ‘**Acemī ođlan**: a boy levied through the *pencik* (*q. v.*) or the *devşirme* (*q. v.*), in training before his admission to the Janissary corps.
- Ađa**: a senior officer in a military or other organisation serving the sultan.
- ‘**Ahdnāme**: a treaty; letter of agreement bestowing a privilege.
- Akçe**: a silver coin, the basic unit of account in the Ottoman treasury.
- Akın**: a raid on enemy territory.
- Akıncı**: a raider; a soldier holding land on the frontier in return for conducting raids into enemy territory.
- Alaybegi**: literally ‘rank commander’; the holder of a *zé āmet* (*q. v.*), serving as an officer of the *tīmār* (*q. v.*)-holding cavalry.
- Amān**: mercy, quarter; safe-conduct.
- ‘**Āmil**: a factor; agent, especially an agent of the sultan, usually acting as a tax-collector.
- Amīru’l-mu’minīn**: literally ‘Commander of the Faithful’; a Caliphal title.
- Anađol**: Anatolia; as an administrative unit, the province situated in the western part of Anatolia.
- Anatolia**: a general term for the area covering approximately the area of modern Turkey to the east of the Bosphorus.
- Arşun**: a measure of length, probably about 68 cm.
- ‘**Arz**: a submission, petition.
- Arz-i mīrī**: land at the disposal of the sultan, the revenues of which are not assigned to private individuals or *waqfs* (*q. v.*).
- ‘**Askerī**: literally ‘military’; a member of the military class, comprising everyone in receipt of a fief or a salary from the sultan and exempt from taxation.
- ‘**Āvārız**: an extra-ordinary tax, originally levied in times of war or emergency. By the seventeenth century *āvārız* had become a regular levy.
- A’yān**: local notables; the prominent persons in a district.
- ‘**Azab**: literally ‘bachelor’; an infantryman recruited through a levy on urban youth.
- Bāb-i sa’ādet**: literally ‘the gate of felicity’; the gate leading from the second to the third court of the palace, where the sultan held audiences; by extension, the palace, the sultan’s government.
- Bād-i havā**: literally ‘wind of the air’; incidental taxes.
- Baştına**: a tenement held by a Christian peasant on the Balkans, the equivalent of a *çift* (*q. v.*).

- Bay'a:** the oath of allegiance offered by the 'men of loosing and binding' to a new Caliph.
- Bayram:** a festival; one of the two festivals, *'idü'l-fitr*, celebrating the breaking of the fast at the end of Ramađān, or *'idü'l-adhā* celebrated on 10–13 *Dhū'l-hijja*.
- Bedestān:** a covered market; the central commercial building in a town.
- Beg:** lord; commander, governor.
- Beglerbegi:** literally 'lord of lords'; the governor of a province.
- Beglerbegilik:** a province.
- Beglik:** see *mīrī*.
- Benlāk:** see *bennāk*.
- Bennāk:** a peasant possessing less than half a *çift* (*q. v.*) of land.
- Berāt:** a diploma of appointment by the sultan.
- Beşlü:** literally 'fiver'; an auxiliary fortress guard.
- Beşlü-başı:** a commander of the *beşlüs* (*q. v.*).
- Beytü'l-māl:** literally 'house of property'; the treasury; unclaimed inheritances coming into the treasury.
- Beytü'l-mālci:** the official responsible for managing unclaimed inheritances.
- Bölük:** literally 'division'; a unit of the Janissaries or other military corps; the term often refers to one of the six divisions (*altı bölük*) of the sultan's household cavalry.
- Bölük-başı:** literally 'head of a division'; the Janissary officer commanding a *bölük* (*q. v.*).
- Bostancı:** literally 'gardener'; a member of the corps working in the palace gardens. They might also act as armed guards.
- Bostancı-başı:** head of the corps of *bostancıs*, acting also as helmsman of the sultan's barge, and a close attendant of the sultan.
- Caba bennāk:** a landless peasant.
- Çakırcı-başı:** head falconer.
- Caliph** (Arabic, *ḫalīfa*): the successor to the Prophet and supreme head of the Islamic community.
- Cānbāz:** one of a body of military auxiliaries in Rūmeli (*q. v.*), organised in groups of ten, with one man serving in the army and the remainder paying a fixed sum for his maintenance.
- Cāriye:** a female slave; the lowest rank among the women of the imperial harem.
- Çāşnigīr:** taster; an officer of the inner palace, serving the sultan's meals.
- Çāşnigīr-başı:** the head taster.
- Çavuş:** a herald; member of a corps of officers at the sultan's court, acting as messengers, escorts and executioners, as well as in ceremonial and other functions.
- Çavuş-başı:** the head *çavuş* (*q. v.*) in the palace.
- Cebelü:** literally 'armoured'; an armed retainer in the suite of a *sipāhī* (*q. v.*).
- Celālī:** the term applied to rebels in Anatolia in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.
- Cereḫor:** labour service in support of the army.
- Çeri-başı:** literally 'troop-commander'; an officer commanding a division of *tīmār* (*q. v.*)-holding cavalry in a *sancaḫ* (*q. v.*).
- Çift:** literally 'pair, yoke'; a peasant tenement, nominally the amount of land a family could cultivate in a year with one yoke of oxen.
- Çiftlik:** see *çift*.
- Çift-tax:** the annual rent paid by the holder of a *çift* (*q. v.*) to the holder of the *tīmār* (*q. v.*) where the *çift* was located.

- Çıkma**: literally ‘going out’; the graduation ceremony when pages left the palace schools or the inner palace for service outside.
- Çoğadār**: literally ‘keeper of the linen’; a page of the sultan’s privy chamber, responsible for the sultan’s outer garments.
- Cüz**: literally ‘fraction’; one thirtieth part of the Qur’ān.
- Dānişmend**: a senior student in a *medrese* (*q. v.*).
- Dārü’l-ḥarb**: literally ‘the abode of war’; the lands that are not under a Muslim sovereign.
- Defterdār**: a treasurer, accountant; one of the chief *defterdārs* with a seat on the imperial council (*q. v.*) and responsible for the financial affairs of the empire.
- Defter emīni**: literally ‘superintendent of the register’; head of the office responsible for the registers recording assignments of *tīmārs*, *ze’ānets* and *ḥāşş*, and therefore of military obligations.
- Delî**: literally ‘madcap’; a lightly armed volunteer soldier on the frontier in Europe. The suicidal attacks of the *delis* sowed confusion in enemy ranks. Also called *serdengeçti*.
- Devsirme**: the levy of non-Muslim boys for service in the palace and the Janissary corps.
- Dhimmî**: a non-Muslim subject of a Muslim polity.
- Dil**: literally ‘tongue’; an enemy prisoner retained as an informant.
- Dirhem**: a measure of weight, probably about 3.3 gram; a drachma, a notional unit of currency used in Islamic legal texts.
- Dirlik**: literally ‘living’; a fief; a revenue source providing a living.
- Divān**: a council; the sultan’s imperial council meeting under the presidency of the grand vizier (*q. v.*); the council of a princely governor.
- Dolama**: a jacket of fine wool or silk, worn beneath an over-garment.
- Dönüm**: a measure of land, 40 paces by 40 paces.
- Eczā**: plural of *cüz*’ (*q. v.*).
- Ellici**: one of a group of Christian peasants in the service of the military. The role of *ellicis* is unclear.
- Emānet**: the management of a tax-farm or other undertaking by a salaried agent.
- Emīn**: a salaried official administering an enterprise.
- Emīr**: prince; ruler; governor.
- Emīrū’l-ümerā**: Arabic term for **beglerbegi** (*q. v.*).
- Enderūn**: literally ‘interior’; the inner palace; the sultan’s private quarters.
- Eşkinici**: an auxiliary soldier.
- Eşrefî**: an Egyptian gold coin of the Mamlūk era.
- Faḫîh**: a Muslim jurist.
- Fatwā**: an authoritative legal opinion issued by a *mufitī* (*q. v.*) in answer to a question.
- Fesād**: intrigue, mischief, corruption. See also **fitna**.
- Filori**: a gold coin, florin.
- Firman**: a *fermān*; a decree of the sultan.
- Fitna**: chaos, disorder; dissent, rebellion. The term is frequently paired with *fesād* (*q. v.*).
- Friday prayer** (Arabic: *jum’a*): the congregational prayer performed on Friday in a congregational mosque (Arabic: *jāmi’*). During the sermon, a prayer is offered for the sovereign.
- Fusta**: a light galley.
- Ġarīb**: literally ‘stranger’; a member of the corps of *ġarīb-ogłans*, one of the six divisions (*altı bölük*) of the sultan’s household cavalry.
- Ġazā**: a raid; military campaign; a campaign in the service of holy war.
- Ġazî**: one who wages *ġazā*.

Göñüllü: a volunteer; a member of the corps of *göñüllüs*, a military corps stationed in Cairo.

Grand vizier (Ottoman: *Şadr-i a'zam*, *vezir-i a'zam*): the sultan's chief vizier, presiding over the imperial *dīvān* (q. v.).

Ġulām: a servant; a retainer, armed or unarmed.

Ġusl: total ablution of the body to remove a major ritual impurity.

Ĥākān: see Ĥān.

Ĥalāl: permissible according to the *sharī'a* (q. v.).

Ĥalebī akçe: a Mamlūk silver coin in circulation in Syria, valued at 2.5 to 1 Ottoman *akçe* (q. v.).

Ĥalifa: Caliph; a local leader of the *kızılbaş* (q. v.), representing the Safavid shah in his community.

Ĥān (contracted form of *kāgān*, *hākān*): a ruler; a title of the Ottoman sultans.

Ĥāne: a house; household, especially a household as taxable unit.

Ĥarāc: in the *sharī'a*, a tax on land; in Ottoman usage, the *jizya* (q. v.), sometimes referred to as *baş harācı* ('head *harāc*').

Ĥarāc-i muḵāseme: in the *sharī'a*, a levy of up to 50 percent on crops growing on land, which remained in the possession of the infidels at the time of the Muslim conquest.

Ĥarām: forbidden by the *sharī'a*.

Ĥarbī: a non-Muslim resident of the *dārü'l-ḥarb* (q. v.).

Ĥarem: women's quarters in a Muslim household; the sultan's private apartments.

Ĥarem-i ḥāşş: the sultan's private apartments.

Ĥāşş: a fief worth more than 100,000 *akçe* per year, assigned to the sultan, a provincial governor or the treasury.

Ĥāşşa: private; belonging to the sultan, or to the sultan's treasury or government.

Ĥāşşa çiftlik: an area of land on a *tīmār* (q. v.) set aside for the use of the *sipāhī* (q. v.).

Ĥaṭīb: a preacher.

Ĥaṭṭ-i ḥümāyūn: literally 'imperial rescript'; a command written in the sultan's own hand.

Ĥoca: a teacher of religion.

Ĥüccet: literally 'proof'; a document issued by a *kāḍī* (q. v.), recording the proceedings in court and the *kāḍī*'s decision.

Ĥüdāvendgār: (1) God; (2) a monarch; (3) the Ottoman sultan; (4) Sultan Murād I; (5) the *sancaḳ* (q. v.) of Bursa.

Ĥünkār (contracted form of **Ĥüdāvendgār**): the sultan.

Ĥuṭbe: the sermon during the Friday prayer, which includes a prayer for the ruler.

'Idda: the period following divorce or the death of her husband, during which a woman may not legally re-marry.

İḥtisāb: market regulations; the money accruing from fines for breaches of market regulations.

İlhād: heresy.

İltizām: the management of revenue collecting by a tax-farmer.

Imām: (1) a leader or ruler; (2) a prayer leader in a mosque; (3) the Caliph, as leader of the entire Muslim community; (4) title accorded to the founder and leading jurists of a legal School.

'İmāret: a soup-kitchen attached to a mosque and supported by a *waqf* (q. v.).

İspence: a poll-tax levied on non-Muslims in place of the *çift*-tax (q. v.).

Janissary (Turkish: *yeñiçeri*, before c1500 sometimes *yenisar*): the sultan's standing infantry corps, levied through the *devşirme* (q. v.) and the *pencik* (q. v.).

- Jihād:** holy war; *jihād* refers to holy war in general, while the term *ğazā* refers to a specific raid, campaign or battle during a *jihād*.
- Jizya:** in Islamic law, a poll-tax payable by adult non-Muslim males in exchange for legal protection of life, limb and property. In Ottoman usage it is often referred to as *harāc* (*q. v.*).
- Ḳāḍī:** a judge in a Muslim court, acting as both judge and notary. Ottoman *ḳāḍīs* were also the chief administrators in their judicial districts.
- Ḳāḍī'asker:** literally 'military judge'; one of the two chief *ḳāḍīs* (*q. v.*) – that is, the *ḳāḍī'asker* of Rumelia and the *ḳāḍī'asker* of Anatolia – both having a seat in the imperial *dīvān* (*q. v.*).
- Ḳāḍīlik:** see **ḳazā**.
- Ḳā'immaḳām:** a deputy; a vizier appointed to deputise for the grand vizier (*q. v.*).
- Ḳanḫār:** a measure of weight, about 56.5 kg.
- Ḳānūn:** a law or regulation issued by or ratified by the sultan; sultanic law in general.
- Ḳānūnnāme:** a code of sultanic laws.
- Ḳapu ağası:** literally 'āğa of the gate'; also *bāb-i sa'ādet ağası*. The officer guarding the gate between the inner and outer palace and responsible for conveying messages between the two.
- Ḳapuci-başı:** literally 'head-gatekeeper'; head-gatekeeper in the sultan's palace.
- Ḳassām:** the official responsible for dividing the inheritances of the 'askerī (*q. v.*) class.
- Ḳāşif:** a provincial governor in Egypt.
- Ḳātib:** a scribe; secretary.
- Ḳayı:** the senior grandson of the mythical Oğuz Ḥān (*q. v.*), from whom the Ottoman sultans claimed descent.
- Ḳayyūm:** a caretaker at a mosque.
- Ḳazā:** the judicial and administrative district of a *ḳāḍī* (*q. v.*). Also **ḳāḍīlik**.
- Ḳethūdā:** a deputy, representative; a representative authorised to act as commander.
- Ḳile:** a measure of weight for grain, perhaps about 25 kg., but with many regional variations.
- Ḳılıç:** literally 'sword'; the core of a *tīmār* (*q. v.*) which could not be sub-divided.
- Ḳıst:** the sum payable to the treasury from a tax-farm, as the instalment due for a specified portion of the contract.
- Ḳızılbaş:** literally 'redhead'; an adherent of the Safavid religious order, of which the Safavid shahs of Iran were the leaders.
- Ḳüfr:** unbelief.
- Ḳul:** a slave; a servant of the sultan, paid through the treasury. The term is often used to refer to members of the Janissary (*q. v.*) corps or of one of the household cavalry divisions.
- Ḳulaç:** a measure of depth, probably about 1.83m.
- Ḳuruş:** 'Groschen'; a large silver coin, before the late seventeenth century imported from Europe.
- Lālā:** tutor; the tutor of a prince.
- Lidra:** a measure of capacity.
- Livā:** flag, banner; a *sancaḳ* (*q. v.*).
- Madhhab** (Ottoman: *mezheb*): literally 'pathway'; doctrine; one of the four Sunnī Schools of Islamic law: Ḥanafī, Shāfi'ī, Mālikī and Ḥanbalī.
- Martolos:** a Christian military auxiliary in the Balkans.
- Medre:** a liquid measure.
- Medrese:** a higher college of Islamic learning.
- Melik** (plural, *mülük*): king; in Islamic usage, sometimes in a pejorative sense.

- Metropolitan:** a bishop in the Greek Orthodox Church.
- Mevkūf:** a source of revenue that is temporarily unassigned.
- Mevkūfāt:** income coming to the treasury from vacant *tīmārs* and other revenue sources that are temporarily unassigned.
- Mevkūfci:** the official charged with collecting for the treasury revenues from *tīmārs* and other fiefs which are temporarily in abeyance.
- Mevlānā:** literally ‘our lord’; the title given to a *kādī* (*q. v.*).
- Mezra ‘a:** an area of arable land without habitations.
- Mi ‘mār aḡası:** the sultan’s chief architect.
- Mīr-āḡur:** master of the sultan’s stables.
- Mīr-‘alem:** literally ‘lord of the standard’; keeper of the sultan’s standard and other standards and banners in the palace for ceremonial or battlefield use.
- Mīrī:** literally ‘pertaining to the ruler’; synonym of *beglik*, assets reserved for the use of the sultan; the treasury.
- Mīrzā:** a prince.
- Miṣāl:** the *tuḡra* (*q. v.*); by extension, a sultanic decree.
- Mollā:** a title of respect for members of the ‘*ulemā*’ (*q. v.*).
- Monapolye:** the period during which the sale of wine produced on a *tīmār* (*q. v.*) is reserved for the *tīmār*-holder.
- Mu ‘arrif:** an usher at the Friday Prayer.
- Mūd:** a measure of capacity. The *mūd* of Bursa was c112 litres.
- Müderri:** a teacher in a *medrese* (*q. v.*).
- Muftī:** a recognised authority on Islamic law, authorised to issue *fatwas*. The *muftī* of Istanbul (*müftī ‘l-enām, şeyḡü ‘l-islām*) was the senior *muftī* in the Ottoman Empire and, from about the mid-sixteenth century on, head of the Ottoman ‘*ulemā*’ (*q. v.*).
- Muḡtesib:** an inspector of markets.
- Mu ‘id:** a teaching assistant in a *medrese* (*q. v.*).
- Mujāhid:** a warrior; a fighter of *jihād*.
- Mujtahid:** a qualified authority on the interpretation of Islamic law.
- Muḡābele:** literally ‘collating’; the office checking payments and grants against centrally held registers.
- Muḡāṭa ‘a:** a specified bundle of revenues; a tax-farm.
- Mülk:** private property; land whose revenues are privately owned.
- Mülknāme:** a document confirming ownership of private property.
- Müsellem:** member of a group exempted from certain taxes in exchange for auxiliary service in the army.
- Müteferriḡa:** a miscellaneous group of elite palace servants who were entitled to accompany the sultan when he was on horseback.
- Mütevellī:** the administrator of a *waḡf* (*q. v.*).
- Nāḡiye:** an administrative sub-division of a *sancaḡ* (*q. v.*).
- Nā ‘ib:** deputy; a deputy *kādī* (*q. v.*).
- Naḡībū ‘s-sādāt:** literally ‘chief of the *seyyids*’; the senior *seyyid* (*q. v.*) in the Ottoman Empire.
- Nāzir:** an overseer, supervisor.
- Nedīm:** a companion of the sultan, providing companionship and entertainment, but having no recognised political role.
- Nevrüz:** literally ‘New Year’s Day’; the vernal equinox; between 20 and 22 March.
- Niṣān:** literally ‘sign’; the *tuḡra* (*q. v.*); by extension, a sultanic decree.

- Nişancı:** chancellor; head of the sultan's scribal service, with a seat on the imperial *dīvān* (*q. v.*).
- Niyābet:** the income arising from fines.
- Ođlan:** youth, boy, servant; synonym of *đulām* (*q. v.*).
- Ođuz:** the western Turks.
- Ođuz Hān:** the legendary ancestor of the western Turks, from whom the Ottoman sultan claimed descent in the senior line. See also *Ķayı*.
- ‘Örf:** custom; law sanctified by custom; *ķānūn* (*q. v.*).
- ‘Örfi:** customary.
- ‘Öşr:** literally ‘tithe’; in Ottoman law, the tithe levied on crops; in the *sharī‘a*, the tithe levied on crops growing on land that passed to a Muslim at the time of the Muslim conquest.
- Pādişāh:** a sovereign; the Ottoman sultan.
- Palandaria** (Turkish: *at gemisi*): a ship for transporting horses.
- Paşa:** a title of respect. In the fourteenth century it could designate a ruler or a prince; in the Ottoman Empire from the mid-fifteenth century onwards, it was the title given *beglerbegis* (*q. v.*) or viziers (*q. v.*). In European sources it usually refers to viziers.
- Pencik:** the levy of (nominally) one-fifth of prisoners-of-war for the sultan's service; the toll levied on slaves being ferried across the Bosphorus or the Dardanelles.
- Pencikçi-başı:** the officer in charge of the *pencik*.
- Porte:** the sultan's palace; by extension, the sultan's government.
- Ra ‘iyet:** a member of the tax-paying peasantry in the countryside.
- Re ‘āyā:** plural form of *ra ‘iyet* (*q. v.*); the tax-paying peasantry. The term may also refer to taxpayers in general.
- Resm-i ķismet:** the fee collected for dividing inheritances.
- Resm-i tütün:** literally ‘smoke tax’; a charge payable for temporary residence on a *tīmār* (*q. v.*).
- Rikābī:** an officer of the palace entitled to accompany the sultan when he was on horseback.
- Rūmeli:** Rumelia; the Ottoman province comprising the major part of Ottoman territories in Europe.
- Rumelia:** a general term for the Ottoman territories in Europe.
- Rūznāme:** literally ‘day-book’; a ledger; the office maintaining a daily account of the income and expenditure of the treasury.
- Rūznāmeçi:** the official responsible for maintaining the *rūznāme* (*q. v.*).
- Şađāvul:** an escort, accompanying official visitors.
- Şāhī:** a large silver coin worth 6–8 *aķçes* (*q. v.*), minted in the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire.
- Şāhib-i ra ‘iyet:** literally ‘holder of the *ra ‘iyet*’; the *sipāhī* (*q. v.*) on whose *tīmār* (*q. v.*) a *ra ‘iyet* (*q. v.*) is registered.
- Şāhib-i tīmār:** the holder of a *tīmār* (*q. v.*).
- Şāhrukī:** a large silver coin weighing 4.7 gram, in circulation in the Akkoyunlu Empire, named after Timur's grandson Şāhrukh.
- Sālārlık:** A tax on grain at 2.5 percent, paid in addition to the tithe, originally to provide fodder for the *sipāhī/su eri*'s horse.
- Sālāriye:** see **sālārlık**
- Sancađ:** the most important military-administrative division of the Empire, a sub-division of a *beglerbegilik* (*q. v.*).
- Sancađbegi:** a governor of a *sancađ* (*q. v.*).

Şecere-i tayyibe; literally ‘the pure genealogy’; the accredited record of the descendants of the Prophet in the Ottoman Empire.

Segbān: keeper of the sultan’s hounds. The sultan’s *segbāns* also served as a military force. From the mid-fifteenth century onwards, they were incorporated as a unit in the Janissary corps.

Şehinşah: literally ‘king of kings’; monarch.

Şehirlü: a townsman; a tax-paying subject of the sultan, resident in a town.

Şer’: Islamic law; the *sharī’a*.

Serdār: an army commander.

Şeyh: an old man; a title of respect for a venerable figure; the head of a *zāviye* (*q. v.*).

Şeyhü l-islām: the *mufitī* (*q. v.*) of Istanbul, from the mid-sixteenth century the head of the hierarchy of Ottoman ‘ulemā (*q. v.*), known also as *mufitī’l-enām* (literally ‘the *mufitī* of mankind’).

Seyyid: a descendant of the Prophet.

Sicill: a *kāđī*’s (*q. v.*) register; an entry in a *kāđī*’s register.

Sicillāt: plural form of *sicill* (*q. v.*).

Sign: see **nişān**.

Silihđār: literally ‘weapons bearer’; a member of the corps of *silihđārs*, one of the six divisions (*altı bölük*) of the sultan’s household cavalry.

Sipāhī: a cavalryman; a member of the corps of *sipāhīs*, one of the six divisions (*altı bölük*) of the sultan’s household cavalry; a cavalryman holding a *tīmār* (*q. v.*) in return for military service.

Siyāset: in the *sharī’a*, an extra-canonical punishment imposed for the maintenance of good order; in Ottoman usage, the death-penalty or severe corporal punishment.

Şolak: Janissary (*q. v.*) permanently assigned to the sultan’s retinue.

Subaş: literally ‘army head’; an officer in a *sancağ* in possession of a *ze’āmet* (*q. v.*), responsible for law and order in his district and, on campaigns, acting as an officer of the *tīmār* (*q. v.*)-holding cavalrymen.

Su eri: ‘army man’; a *tīmār*-holding *sipāhī* (*q. v.*). The term went out of use after c1500, or it came to be read as *sivārī* (Persian: ‘cavalryman’).

Sürgün: member of a population that has been forcibly relocated.

Tahvīl: the sum to be transferred from a tax-farm to the treasury by the end of the stipulated period, usually three years.

Tapu: title to land or property; the entry-fee payable to gain title to a *tīmār* (*q. v.*) or other property.

Ta’zīr: a punishment imposed at the discretion of a *kāđī* (*q. v.*) or other authority, usually understood as strokes of the lash.

Tekālif-i örfiye: literally ‘customary obligations’; extra-ordinary taxes.

Tenge: a small silver coin, in circulation in the Timurid and Akkoyunlu Empires.

Tenktür: a small tent.

Tevki: the *tuğra* (*q. v.*).

Tezkerelü tīmār: a *tīmār* (*q. v.*) granted by a certificate from the Porte (*q. v.*).

Tezkeresiz tīmār: a *tīmār* (*q. v.*) of lower value, granted by a *beglerbegi* (*q. v.*) without a certificate from the Porte (*q. v.*).

Tīmār: a military fief valued at less than 20,000 *ağçe* a year, supporting a cavalryman.

Töre: custom; customary law.

Topıca: an officer of the *aķıncıs* (*q. v.*).

Tuğ: literally ‘horsetail’; a ‘horsetail’ attached to a standard or an item of headgear, their number indicating rank.

Ṭuğra: the sultan’s cipher affixed to sultanic decrees to guarantee their authenticity.

Ulağ: a courier; the obligation to provide horses for the sultan’s courier service.

‘**Ulemā:** literally ‘those who know’; members of the religious learned class.

‘**Ulūfeci:** literally ‘salaryman’; a member of the corps of ‘*ulūfecis*, one of the six divisions (*altı bölük*) of the sultan’s household cavalry.

Umm walad: literally ‘mother of a child’; a female slave who has borne her master’s child, which he has recognised as his own.

Üsküf: a type of headgear, usually conical.

Vizier: a minister of the sultan, attending the imperial *dīvān* (*q. v.*) and having both a governmental and a military role.

Voynuğ: a Serbian auxiliary soldier.

Voyvoda: a military commander; a governor in the kingdom of Hungary; a ruler of Wallachia or Moldavia; an official in charge of collecting revenue; a *subaşı* (*q. v.*).

Vuğiyye: an *okka*, about 1.3 kg.

Wāqif (Turkish: *vākıf*): the founder of a *waqf* (*q. v.*).

Waqf (Turkish: *vakıf*): a trust supporting a religious or charitable cause.

Waqfiya (Turkish: *vakfiye*): a deed of trust, establishing and laying out the conditions of a *waqf* (*q. v.*).

Yamağ: a member of a military-auxiliary group who is not on active service but contributes to the upkeep of the campaigner.

Yaya: literally ‘footman’; member of a group exempted from certain taxes in exchange for auxiliary service in the army, probably originally as infantrymen.

Yaya-başı: literally ‘head footman’; an officer of the Janissaries (*q. v.*).

Yük: literally ‘load’; a sum of 100,000 *akçe* (*q. v.*).

Yürük: a semi-nomadic Turkish tribesman in the Balkans or Anatolia. The *yürüks* provided auxiliary military services.

Zakāt: alms-tax, a canonical tax, the proceeds of which are for the support of the poor.

Zāviye: a dervish lodge.

Za’īm: a *subaşı* (*q. v.*), a holder of a *ze’āmet* (*q. v.*).

Ze’āmet: a military fief valued at between 20,000 and 100,000 *akçe* per year. Also known as *subaşılık*.

Zirā’: a variable measure of length, usually 60–70 cm.

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